THE NAPOLEONIC EXILES IN AMERICA

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THE NAPOLEONIC EXILES IN AMERICA

A STUDY IN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

1815-1819

BY

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ALBERT SHAW LECTURER ON DIPLOMATIC HISTORY, 1905-6

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PREFATORY NOTE

This study of the Napoleonic Exiles in America centers about the unfortunate colonial enterprise called Champ d'Asile on the banks of the Trinity River in Texas. That undertaking had in itself no great historical importance, but the circumstances surrounding it throw, it is believed, a not uninteresting light upon the diplomatic situation after the downfall of Napoleon. The part of the narrative which relates to the "Napoleonic Confederation" was read at the meeting of the American Historical Association, in 1904, at Chicago.

The writer takes this opportunity of expressing his obligations to Messrs. Andrew H. Allen and Pendleton King, of the Department of State, Washington, for permission to make use of manuscripts in their care. The Monroe Papers, formerly in the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, are now deposited in the Library of Congress. The writer also desires to thank Charles Francis Adams, Esq., for transcripts of certain letters of John Quincy Adams.

RICHMOND, INDIANA, June 1, 1905.

THE NAPOLEONIC EXILES IN AMERICA

A STUDY IN AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC HISTORY

1815-1819

CHAPTER I.

Introductory.

In the third part of the triology called "Les Célibataires," known variously as "Un Ménage de Garçon" and as "La Rambouilleuse," Balzac has developed perhaps with more art than logic the character of Philippe Bridau. The novelist prefaced his work with a dedication to Charles Nodier in which he characterized "Un Ménage de Garçon" as a book in which "the finger of God, so often called chance, takes the place of human justice." The relentless course of the unhappy story left but little to chance. Philippe Bridau, the central male figure, appears first as a young and restless soldier of the Empire, then after Waterloo as a blustering and selfish ne'er-do-well, who taxed his mother's devotion and his brother's generosity to support the shams of a worthless existence. As the Napoleonic soldier grows older, the ne'er-do-well develops into the crafty scoundrel. Such a sudden and unaccounted-for metamorphosis as this has been characterized as a *tour de force* which a second-rate novelist might employ, but from which the true artist should abstain.[1]

The discussion of the change in the character of Philippe Bridau is a matter of literary criticism which is beside the purpose here. When the Napoleonic wars were over, Philippe Bridau, like many of his compatriots, lounged about

[1] George Saintsbury in his introduction to The Bachelor's Establishment.

Paris, boasted of his military exploits under the Great Emporer, and sponged a living from his mother's narrow means. Work as a civilian the soldier would not, nor would he serve a foreign power, for "a Frenchman was too proud of his own to lead any foreign columns; besides, Napoleon might come back again." Bridau is, of course, but an individual created in fiction to impersonate an historical type.

What to do with the imperial officers was a problem which the idea of Champ d'Asile was designed to solve. Balzac laid bare the sordid motives which aimed at the removal from Paris of the remnant of the Old Guard. It was a gigantic fraud, he said, in which those who paraded a sympathy for the devoted followers of the prisoner of Saint Helena and embezzled the funds raised in behalf of the old soldiers, joined hands with the partisans of the restored Bourbons in "sending away the glorious remnant of the French Army." According to the novelist, the idea of the occupation of Texas by the soldiers of the Imperial army was no doubt a splendid one, "but it was the men who were found wanting rather than the conditions, since Texas is now (1843) a republican state of great promise. The experiment made under the Restoration proved emphatically that the interests of the Liberals were purely selfish and in no sense national, aiming at power and nothing else. Neither the material, the place, the idea, nor the good-will was lacking, only the money and the support of that hypocritical (Liberal) party."

In these few words Balzac sketched the purposes and results of the plan of founding the last French colony within what is now the territory of the United States, an attempt no more successful though less tragic in its outcome than that first French colony in America, which Ribaut and Laudonnière founded and Menendez erased. Doubtless the French novelist has given correctly the contemporary Parisian opinion concerning the plan of Champ d'Asile. Granted that its patrons were insincere, and that probably the funds raised to assist the undertaking were misused and embezzled, yet, in

contradiction to the view of Balzac, it may be said that suitable conditions were lacking, as well as appropriate men.

America, which meant freedom from the working of the political vengeance of the Restoration, was the natural goal of the proscribed soldiers of the Empire. Thither it had been thought the great Emperor himself would find an asylum after the disaster of Waterloo and the second abdication of June 22, 1815. Just how far Napoleon developed a mere wish into a settled determination to go to America is by no means clear. Lord Rosebery has commented upon the positive physical degeneration which showed itself in Bonaparte after his return from Elba. "The Napoleon who returned in March, 1815, was very different from the Napoleon who had left in April, 1814."[2] "Everything," said Lamartine, "during the period of the Hundred Days was marked with symptoms of decay and blindness, except his march on Paris, the most intrepid and the most personal of all his campaigns."[3] After the final struggle, "he retreats to Malmaison, where he is practically a prisoner. He will not move; he will not give an order; he sits reading novels. He will arrange neither for resistance nor for flight. He is induced to offer his services as general to the provisional government. The reply he receives is a direction to leave the country. He obeys without a word and leaves in a quarter of an hour."[4]

Even before his abdication the Emperor spoke of America as a final retreat where he could live with dignity. The day after that event he talked with Lavallette, and the latter records that the Emperor turned the discourse on the retreat he ought to choose, and spoke of the United States. "I rejected the idea without reflection and with a degree of vehemence that surprised him. 'Why not America?' he asked. I answered 'Because Moreau retired there.' He heard it without any apparent ill-humor, but I have no doubt

[2] Rosebery, Napoleon, the Last Phase.
[3] Lamartine, History of the Restoration, Book 30, section 1.
[4] Napoleon, the Last Phase, 123.

that it must have made an unfavorable impression upon his mind. I strongly urged his choosing England for his asylum."[5] Afterwards, at Malmaison, Napoleon again discussed his plans for leaving France. "For the past three days he had solicited the provisional government to place a frigate at his disposal, with which he might proceed to America. It had been promised him; he was even pressed to set off, but he wanted to be the bearer of an order to the captain to convey him to the United States, but that order did not arrive. We all felt that the delay of a single hour might put his freedom in jeopardy."[6]

By the 29th of June the agent of the provisional government, General Becker, arrived at Malmaison to escort Napoleon to the coast. Fouché, who had tricked the Emperor at every turn, now officially directed Napoleon's movements, and his sincerity of purpose in announcing that Napoleon would be taken to the United States in a French frigate may be questioned if not denied. The resolutions of the Commission of Government, signed by Fouché, under date of June 26, directed that while two frigates should be prepared at Rochefort to convey "Napoleon Bonaparte" to the United States, "the frigates should not leave Rochefort until the safe arrival of the passports." The intention of the provisional government, therefore, is not to be judged by the offer of the ships, but by its failure to furnish passports. Las Cases (no good authority, to be sure) said that these were promised, but if such a promise were made at all, it meant nothing, and its fulfillment depended not upon Fouché but upon the allies.[7] A second order from Fouché to General Becker directed that Napoleon should leave for Rochefort at once, there to embark upon the frigate without waiting for the passports.[8]

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[5] Bourrienne, Memoirs (Eng. Trans.), IV, 226.
[6] Lavallette, Memoirs (Eng. Trans.), II, 197.
[7] Las Cases, Memorial of St. Helena, I, pp. 15-26.
[8] Rose (Napoleon, II, 476) is of the opinion that the Provisional Government acted honestly toward Napoleon.

Napoleon left Malmaison June 29 and was at Rochefort July 3. Rosebery says that it seems clear that, had the Emperor acted with promptitude, he had reasonable chances of escaping to America, but at Rochefort he showed the same indecision, the same unconsciousness of the value of every moment, as at Malmaison, just after his abdication.[9] This conclusion is open to question, for the strong blockade of English cruisers patrolling the coast forbade any attempt at escape unless by means of disguises and stratagem, though Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, admitted that the best chance of escape was by attempting to run the blockade in one of the French frigates. Such an admission after the fact, when Napoleon was safe in English hands, proves nothing more than that the possibility of eluding the British was slight indeed. Many ruses were discussed while Napoleon awaited his passports at Rochefort from July 3 to July 8, and at the Isle d'Aix until July 15, when he embarked upon the Bellerophon. On the 10th, Las Cases visited the British cruisers for the purpose of ascertaining if the passes to proceed to the United States promised them by the Provisional Government had been received. "The answer was that they had not, but that the matter would be instantly referred to the commander-in-chief. Having stated the supposition of the Emperor's setting sail under flag of truce, it was replied that they would be attacked. We then spoke of his passage in a neutral ship and were told in reply that all neutrals would be strictly examined and perhaps carried into an English port; but we were recommended to proceed to England and it was asserted that in that country we should have no ill-usage to fear." On the 11th, upon the same authority, "all the outlets were blockaded by English ships of war, and the Emperor seemed extremely uncertain as to what plan he should pursue. Neutral vessels and *chasse-marées*, manned by young naval officers, were suggested for his conveyance;

[9] Rosebery, Napoleon, the Last Phase.

propositions also continued to be made from the interior." The next day Napoleon left the frigates "in consequence of the commandant's having refused to sail, whether from weakness of character, or owing to his having received fresh orders from the provisional government, is not known. Many were of the opinion that the attempt might be made with some probability of success, but it must be allowed that the winds still continued unfavorable." [10]

To all the plans proposed by which he might evade his enemies Napoleon remained indifferent and apathetic until the 13th, when, after a visit from his brother Joseph, who was then at Rochefort with a passport issued in the name of Bouchard (said to have been obtained by Jackson, the American chargé at Paris [10a]), Napoleon was, Las Cases says, "on the point of embarking in one of the *chasse-marées;* two sailed having on board a part of his luggage and several of his attendants," but as before, Napoleon refused to adopt any plan of escape whereby disguise was necessary. That such was beneath the dignity of the Emperor is sufficient reason for this but as contributing to this attitude must be added the break-down of his physical energy and his belief that something might be gained by trusting to the generosity of the British.[11]

Among the many accounts of Napoleon's plans for escape was one in which the name of Stephen Girard appears. Ac-

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[10] Las Cases, I, pp. 15-26.

[10a] Henry Jackson, secretary of legation, acted as chargé from the departure of Wm. H. Crawford in April, 1815, until the arrival of Albert Gallatin in July, 1816.

[11] Rose (Napoleon, II, 466) combatting the assertion that Napoleon was physically broken down during the Waterloo campaign, upon the ground that if such were the case the battle of Waterloo would deserve little notice, collects evidence to prove that there had been no radical change in Napoleon's health after his return from Elba. The array of evidence seems conclusive, although from its professed purpose it has the appearance of a bit of special pleading. While Rose admits that it is not easy to gauge Napoleon's feelings after the second abdication, it is asserted that he was certainly not a prey to torpor and to dumb despair. "His brain still clutched eagerly at public affairs as if unable to realize that they had slipped beyond his control." II, 476.

cording to the story which was widely circulated in the newspapers, a Colonel King, of Somerset county, Maryland, sent a ship to La Rochelle to bring Napoleon to America. The Emperor was to have been brought to Accomac county, Virginia, and Girard was believed to have selected a country place for him there. The story doubtless began in idle gossip, but it grew into a tradition that upon the report that Napoleon had escaped to Virginia, Colonel King ordered out the local militia, of which he was commander, to march to the Virginia line, some fifteen miles distant, there to greet the distinguished guest.

Napoleon's idea of seeking an asylum in America was soon communicated to the other members of his family. From the Chateau de Neuilly, whither he had retired after the abdication, Lucien wrote to his sister Pauline, June 26, 1815: "You will have known of the recent disaster to the Emperor, who has just abdicated in favor of his son. He will depart for the United States of America, where all of us will join him. I shall try to join my family at Rome in order to conduct them to America." [12] Similarly, Cardinal Fesch wrote to Pauline: "Lucien left the day before yesterday for London in order to obtain passports for the rest of his family. Joseph will await his passports as did Jerome. . . . . I foresee that the United States will be our final destination, but I think that you should remain in Italy." [13]

Joseph alone succeeded in obtaining passports permitting him to leave France. He followed Napoleon to the coast and urged his brother to use them, feeling certain that owing to the strong physical resemblance between them, the younger would be mistaken for the elder brother. The plan received as little consideration by Napoleon as did all the rest.

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[12] Jung, Lucien Bonaparte et ses Mémoires, III, 360.

[13] Ibid., 361. Jung states that it was Lucien's intention to join his brother at Rochefort and to embark with him to the United States.

Adolph Mailliard, a son of the Louis Mailliard who was Joseph's secretary, has given a report of the last interview between Napoleon and Joseph, based upon a narrative which he claimed to have heard more than once not only from the lips of his father, but from Joseph Bonaparte as well. Before Napoleon finally embarked in the Bellerophon, Joseph visited him to make his farewells. He found the Emperor in bed, ill and mentally depressed. Joseph offered him his quarters in the brig Commerce. "I will take your place," said Joseph, "and will appear to be ill in your room for two or three days. No one will know anything of your departure until you are far away. I shall run no risk and you will never again have so good an opportunity. Everything is ready." Napoleon was much affected, but refused the offer. Upon leaving the Emperor, Joseph said: "To-night I shall send you a messenger in whom I have perfect confidence. Give him your final answer." About midnight he sent Louis Mailliard, who was received by the Emperor alone. Napoleon first asked about the details of the undertaking and then said: "Everything is well arranged. You will succeed without difficulty. Say to King Joseph that I have considered his proposition thoroughly. I cannot accept it, for it would be a flight. I cannot leave my brave officers who are so devoted to me. My brother may leave, but in my position I cannot do so. Tell him to leave at once. He will arrive safely." [14]

Joseph remained at Rochefort until the Emperor had surrendered himself to Captain Maitland, of the Bellerophon, thereby "throwing himself upon the generosity of the British nation." General Lallemand, who had exhausted every plan for Napoleon's escape, asked that he might share his exile. This was refused. For two years thereafter Lallemand wandered about the world until, as will be seen

[14] Bertin, Joseph Bonaparte en Amérique, 44. The story may have been built upon Montholon's account, long after the event. Neither Gourgaud nor Bertrand mentions the incident. See Rose, Napoleon, II, 479. It seems that quarters in the "Commerce" were not engaged until after Napoleon had left upon the Bellerophon.

later, he rallied about himself the soldiers of the Old Guard who had fled to America.

For several days after the Bellerophon had sailed, Joseph remained at Rochefort while he made arrangements for his departure for the United States. An American brig of two hundred tons, the Commerce, of Charleston, South Carolina, Captain Misservey, lay at Bordeaux about to return home in ballast. This vessel was chartered for eighteen thousand francs and its captain was ordered to drop down the Gironde to Royan, there to take on board provisions and a small party formerly connected with the Imperial Court. On the 24th of July, Joseph and those of his suite who had obtained passports boarded the Commerce without interference from the Bourbon officials in command at Royan. On the 25th the Commerce sailed. Before the day was over, the vessel was overhauled by the British man-of-war Bacchus. After a short interview with Captain Misservey, the British officers left without noticing the passengers, of whose identity all seemed to be ignorant. The Bacchus signalled the brig to proceed, but the next day the frigate Endymion stopped the Commerce. This time the British officers made an examination with enough care as to cause alarm among the passengers. The ex-king of Spain kept his cabin, apparently much distressed with seasickness, while the British officers examined the passports. As all the papers appeared to be in good form, the Commerce was again permitted to continue on her way. The French shores and the British cruisers guarding the coast left behind, the Commerce made straight for New York. There it dropped anchor August 28, and Joseph Bonaparte, formerly king of Spain, and now calling himself Count de Survilliers, was safe from the hands of the restored Bourbons.[15] The ease with which he made his escape from France leads to the belief that little effort was made to intercept him by the allies.

[15] Narrative of James Caret in Bertin, 12.

It did not take long for the news to spread over New York that Joseph Bonaparte had succeeded in making his escape from France and was to become a resident of the United States. The reception given him was entirely hospitable and Henry Clay, who had just returned from Europe as one of the peace commissioners, was the first American of distinction who greeted him soon after his arrival.[16]

What attitude should the Count de Survilliers adopt towards the people and the government of the United States? Not a few Americans held to the opinion so universal on the other side of the Atlantic that any member of the Bonaparte family was an enemy to peace and a constant menace to the welfare of the country in which he happened to be. The more general view was the more truly American. America had always been a refuge for all who sought to escape from the tyranny and oppression of the Old World, and why should it not be for the elder brother of Napoleon, a man believed to be pacific by nature and only dangerous as a willing instrument in the Emperor's hands?

No doubt the Count de Survilliers was disposed, in so far as human nature permitted, calmly to submit to the decrees of fate, and, accepting the downfall of Napoleon as an accomplished fact, to settle down as a private gentleman in America. Some difficulty at once arose, however, from his conception of the duties of an unofficial member of American society.

After a rest of a few days in New York, the Count set out for Washington, accompanied by Commodore Lewis, to whom he had disclosed his identity, with the avowed purpose of meeting President Madison.[17] With what for that time and place was a large retinue, the party arrived in Baltimore September 14 and left the same day for Washington. It was perhaps fortunate for all concerned that the President and most of his Cabinet were absent from the

[16] Bertin, 8. Niles's Register, 1815, IX, 44.
[17] Dallas to Madison, September 11, 1815, Dallas's Dallas, 447.

capital, for learning this, the Count turned back at Ellicott's Mills, on the highway between Baltimore and Washington, and returned by way of York and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to New York.

Soon after the Count de Survilliers appeared in New York, President Madison had been informed of his determination to visit Washington and to seek an interview, at which time, though he would be introduced under the title of Count de Survilliers, he hoped to be received as Joseph Bonaparte.[18] Madison, who was then at his country seat, Montpelier, wrote to Monroe dwelling upon the manifest impropriety of such a proceeding, involving him in a clandestine transaction. To prevent this, steps were taken to divert the party from its purpose should it arrive at the capital. Madison directed Attorney-General Rush, who was then at Washington, to see that no application should be made for presentation to him.[19] "The anxiety," wrote Madison to Monroe, "of Joseph Bonaparte to be incog. for the present at least makes it the more extraordinary that he should undertake a journey which could not fail to excite curiosity and multiply the chances of discovery. Commodore Lewis has doubtless been misled into his inconsiderate agency by a benevolent sympathy; but he ought at least to have obtained a previous sanction to it from some quarter or other."[20]

Rush, who succeeded in shunting the unwelcome party from Washington, laid the entire blame of the affair upon the Commodore, "whose honor," Madison had said, "Joseph Bonaparte had inferred from his military symbols" when they first met in New York. Lewis gave as a reason for the change in route that not until they reached Ellicott's Mills had they learned with certainty that the President and the heads of departments were absent from Washington.

[18] Madison to Monroe, September 12, 1815, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress; Madison to Dallas, September 15, 1815, Dallas's Dallas, 445.

[19] Madison to Rush, September 15, 1815, Dallas's Dallas, 445.

[20] Madison to Monroe, September 12, 1815, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

"These excuses," Rush informed Madison,[21] "must all originate with himself and be the price of his own indiscretion. From me he had no hint to make them." The Attorney-General, sharing the popular suspicion of every motive of the Bonapartes, hinted at a possible political intrigue behind the apparent plans of the Count de Survilliers. "The measure in which Lewis embarked," he declared to the President, "was abrupt and indecorous in a very high degree, and I confess it will sometimes cross my suspicions that it may have been propelled by other machinery than the ostensible, and that, too, without the ostensible agents themselves having been fully or rightly aware of it. It is not possible that such a personage would have been a week in New York without fixing the eye and perhaps engaging the reflections of more principal men than those who figured as his avowed patrons. But of this I have no right to do more than think."

Referring to the rumor that the Count might proceed to Montpelier, in case he failed to see Madison at Washington, Rush continued: "To have come, at any time, to the seat of your public residence with the ulterior view of a personal visit, without a previous sanction through the usual channels, might have been thought not entirely respectful if prudent. But so to invade the sanctity of your domestic retreat, really, sir, looks to me, independent of all other siderations, as scarcely less than an outrage. . . . I remember that when Talleyrand was in Philadelphia, as ex-bishop of Autun, General Washington declined being visited by him, although he made known a wish to wait on him." It is probable that Joseph Bonaparte knew that Madison and his Cabinet were unwilling to receive him, for he made no further attempt to see the President, but returned to New York.[22]

Early in 1816 the Count de Survilliers leased the Bingham estate on the Schuylkill, known as Lansdowne, and resided

[21] Rush to Madison, September 17, 1815, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress; see also, Bertin, op. cit., 10.
[22] Rush to Madison, September 17, 1815.

there for about a year, but as Lansdowne was too near Philadelphia and lacked seclusion, a change of residence was found to be desirable. Point Breeze, a farm of about two hundred acres, near Bordentown, New Jersey, belonging to the Sayre estate, was purchased during the summer of 1816 and there Joseph Bonaparte made his home until 1832, when he returned to Europe. Successive purchases of adjoining land enlarged Point Breeze to a place of more than eighteen hundred acres. Upon it the ex-king of Spain lived as a gentleman farmer. During the sixteen years of his sojourn in New Jersey his home was a center of generous hospitality for all the French exiles. Especially during the first part of his term of residence there Point Breeze was a veritable *bureau de bienfaisance* for the refugees of the Napoleonic régime.[22]

[22] Joseph Bonaparte's life in America is fully described by M. Georges Bertin, Joseph Bonaparte en Amérique, Paris, 1893; see also The Bonaparte Park, by E. M. Woodward, Trenton, N. J., 1879; "Bordentown and the Bonapartes," by J. B. Gilder in Scribner's Monthly, Volume 21; The Napoleon Dynasty, by "The Berkeley Men," N. Y., 1856.

CHAPTER II.

The Napoleonic Exiles in America.

The fortunes of the officers, who had declared for Napoleon on his return from Elba and fought for him until the final disaster, fell into the hands of Fouché, whose double dealing led to the belief that Napoleon might escape to America. Thanks to that inborn trait which his character invariably showed, Fouché openly condemned the active sympathizers with the Second Empire and secretly assisted them to escape. The presence of the Napoleonic exiles in America, whether for good or ill, may be credited to the sinuous policy of the despised Duke of Otranto.

It is said that Louis XVIII had already determined upon the dismissal of Fouché when he ordered him, as minister of police, to prepare lists of proscription. Thus Fouché was made to bear the odium attaching to the policy of political revenge. These lists, as first submitted to the king and council, contained about one hundred names: "one part was chosen by the public clamor, the other by chance. In this first choice Fouché had not shown any personal weakness: all of his accomplices of the Hundred Days, Bonapartists, Orleanists, ministers, colleagues, representatives of his policy, equals, and subordinates, generals, marshals, agents of his police, and executors of his orders were comprised in it. He had sacrificed himself liberally; there was lacking his own name only."[1]

For days the names upon the list were balloted upon. Now this, now that name was struck out. The list was reduced to eighty names, then to fifty-nine. When the king

[1] Lamartine, History of the Restoration, Book 30, section 40.

and council decided that a name should remain, Fouché, perhaps with the king's acquiescence, warned some, saw others, provided passports and money, until it was only the "most obstinate or the most foolhardy who fell subsequently into the hands of the police."[2]

After most of those whose names yet remained upon the list had been assisted in making their escape, Louis proclaimed the ordinance of proscription dated July 24, 1815. "Desirous of conciliating the interests of our subjects, the dignity of our crown, and the tranquility of Europe, we order, first, that the generals and officers who have betrayed the king before the 23rd of March, or who have attacked France and the government by force of arms, and those, who by violence have possessed themselves of power, shall be seized and brought before competent courts-martial in their respective divisions, viz., Ney, Labédoyere, Lallemand senior, Lallemand junior, Drouet d'Erlon, Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, Ameil, Brayer, Gilly, Mouton-Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Laborde, Debéille, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambronne, Lavallette, and Rovigo."[3] The second article of the same ordinance ordered thirty-nine individuals to quit Paris within three days and to remain in the country under the surveillance of Fouché until the chambers should either expel them from France or else order them to appear for trial. Among the number were Vandamme, Réal, Dirot, Cluis, and Garnier de Saintes. These lists were thereupon declared closed with the names designated. "They can never be extended to others for any cause or pretext whatever, otherwise than in the forms and according to the constitutional laws from which deviation is made only in this special case."[4]

Among those thus proscribed, as has been seen, was Marshal Grouchy, who with his two sons, Colonels Alphonse and Victor Grouchy, arrived in Baltimore in January, 1816, all of them under assumed names. The animadversions

[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., Book 30, section 41.
[4] Ibid.

upon Grouchy's actions at Waterloo, which Gourgaud soon published in London, were echoed by many of Napoleon's officers who congregated in and about Philadelphia. Grouchy was blamed for the disaster, an opinion in which Napoleon concurred, for according to him, it was largely due to the imbecility of Grouchy that Waterloo was lost.[5] While in America Grouchy wrote a reply to Gourgaud and published it in Philadelphia.[6] A copy of the Marshal's defense was sent to Jefferson, to whom he had previously forwarded a letter of introduction from Lafayette.

The sage of Monticello, on account of his long residence in France, his numerous friendships there, and his universally known sympathy with French ideas, was naturally a character of the highest interest and attraction to the French emigrants. In the fall of 1817 Grouchy started on a pilgrimage to Monticello. He went as far south as Wilmington, Delaware, where he was the guest of the Duponts. His plan of an excursion into Virginia was given up on account of the illness of one of his sons, and he wrote to Jefferson from Wilmington how much he regretted not being able to take this trip which he had been promising himself ever since his arrival in America. He determined, however, to make the journey in the following spring. Then, as he wrote, he would tell Jefferson "how much I congratulate myself on dwelling in your interesting country; how proud I am, and how thankful for the honorable hospitality which has been bestowed upon me here, and that if anything can lessen the bitterness with which a distant exile overwhelms me, and the state of servitude and degradation of my native land, it is to see yours, happy, powerful, free, and respected, and all through institutions founded upon the very same principles

[5] Though apparently Joseph Bonaparte bore Grouchy no ill-will. See Wilson's Life and Letters of Fitz-Greene Halleck, 519.

[6] Observations sur la relation de la Campagne de 1815 par le General Gourgaud, pp. 67, Philadelphia, 1818. Grouchy also published a small pamphlet in 1820 from Philadelphia: Doutes sur l'authenticité des mémoires historiques attribuées à Napoléon.

for the establishment of which I have so often needlessly shed my blood." [7]

Writing from Monticello, Jefferson replied: "Your name has been too well known in the history of the times, and your merit too much acknowledged by all, not to promise me great pleasure in making your personal acquaintance. If, too, the trouble of such a journey could be compensated by anything which the country between us could offer to your curiosity, it would save me the regret which I could not fail to feel were I to suppose myself the whole object of the journey. In this last case I would certainly think myself sufficiently honored by the written expressions of respect just now received, and should postpone the pleasure of receiving them personally to the unreasonable trouble which such an object would impose on you. As you flatter me with taking the journey in the spring, I am in hopes the face of our country at that season will still better reward the labor of the undertaking." [8]

The arrival of one after another of the Bonapartist following aroused no little feeling of alarm in the heart of Hyde de Neuville; the representative at Washington of the restored Bourbon dynasty.[9] What with the American colonies of Spain in serious revolt, the persistent rumors of attempts to rescue Napoleon from the rock of St. Helena, and the crowd of Napoleonic officers "recruiting, scattering money, and organizing secret expeditions," all these things formed a welter of suspicion in De Neuville's mind that the United States was to be the base of operations by which South

[7] Grouchy to Jefferson, October 20, 1817, MS. Jefferson Papers, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State. The powder-mill of the Du Ponts' at Brandywine exploded March 19, 1818, killing thirty persons and wounding ten. Marshal Grouchy and his two sons were present and aided in attempting to save the Du Pont residence.

[8] Jefferson to Grouchy, November 2, 1817, MS. Jefferson Papers, Department of State.

[9] De Neuville had been in the United States in 1806 and lived for a time at New Brunswick, New Jersey, where General Moreau visited him. Mémoires et Souvenirs du Baron Hyde de Neuville.

America would be severed from Spain with Napoleon, liberated from St. Helena, as its emperor. "As to South America," he wrote to the Duc de Richelieu, January 10, 1817, "I persist in thinking that only one man, Bonaparte, could operate there a great revolution. It appears that Joseph has been persuaded to dream of being King of the Indies."[10] Every attention paid the Napoleonic emigrants became to him a matter of serious concern upon which he fully reported to his chief. At a Fourth of July celebration at Baltimore in 1816, the postmaster of that city referred in hardly complimentary terms to the restored Bourbon government. De Neuville promptly called upon Monroe with the request that the postmaster be dismissed from his post and made to apologize for the insult to his master. Monroe refused to consider the matter upon the ground that the United States had no authority to limit the unofficial utterances of its servants, and that they were at liberty to discuss matters of foreign politics.[11]

Shortly after this occurrence, De Neuville's susceptibilities were again wounded by some remarks made at a public dinner at New York, at which Grouchy was referred to as "Marshal Grouchy." Such a title, said De Neuville, was an offense to his government. Acting upon his report of the affair, the French minister of foreign affairs asked Gallatin, then at Paris as the American envoy, for the removal of Skinner, the Baltimore postmaster, as a reparation sufficiently satisfactory to France. Gallatin could not make De Richelieu believe that no affront had been intended by the United States. The functions of the French consul at Baltimore were suspended as a retaliation. "No public agent," De Richelieu said to Gallatin, "could be maintained in a town where His Majesty had been so publicly insulted." Lest this method of retaliation might not have the desired effect,

[10] Mémoires et Souvenirs, II, 267.

[11] Monroe to Gallatin, September 10, 1816, MS. Archives, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State. See Wharton's International Law Digest, section 389.

Gallatin was further informed that by the refusal to dismiss Skinner, the government of Louis XVIII would be disposed to be slow about taking any steps looking toward the payment of the spoliation claims.[12]

Among the officers of Napoleon's army who had arrived in the United States and upon whom the Bourbon representative kept a close eye were the brothers Lallemand. The elder, Charles Francois Antoine Lallemand, was born at Metz about 1774 and entered military service in 1792. Serving through the campaigns of the Revolution, he became Junot's aide-de-camp in Egypt. After the disastrous San Domingo expedition in 1802 he was back again in the Napoleonic army, and after Jena became a colonel. In 1811 he appears as a general of brigade and as such he served continuously until the abdication of Fontainebleau. Before the Hundred Days he quickly accepted service under the restored monarchy as commander of the Department of l'Aisne, and just as quickly began to conspire against the existing government. With his younger brother, Henri Dominique Lallemand, and General Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, he formed a plot to seize the arsenal of La Fère. The scheme failed and the brothers were arrested with their co-conspirator and imprisoned. Napoleon's entry into Paris after his return from Elba set them at liberty and they at once entered with zeal into the service of the Emperor. At Waterloo the elder Lallemand showed unusual courage as commander of the chasseurs of the guard. He was in the last army and followed it beyond the Loire. The younger Lallemand commanded the artillery of the guard at Waterloo, having previously received the rank of general of division. After the second abdication, the elder, denied the privilege of following Napoleon into exile, was taken by the British to Malta and finally liberated. From Malta he roamed over eastern Europe and unsuccessfully offered his services to Russia, Turkey, and Egypt. The younger brother managed

[12] Gallatin to Monroe, November 21, 1816, and January 30, 1817, Gallatin's Works, II, 9, 22.

to escape from France under an assumed name, going first to London and thence to the United States, where Charles finally met him. Both had been condemned to death *in absentia* by a *conseil de guerre* in August, 1815, as the instigators of the conspiracy of La Fère. None of Napoleon's officers showed him greater devotion than did the elder of the Lallemands. O'Meara records the Emperor's estimate of him: "On my return from Elba he declared in my favor at a moment of the greatest peril to himself. He has a great deal of resolution and is capable as an organizer. There are few men who can better conduct a hazardous enterprise. *Il a le feu sacré.*" [13]

Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, who had risen from a sub-lieutenancy to the rank of general of division at the time of the abdication of Fontainebleau, accepted service under the restoration only to pronounce in favor of Napoleon on the return from Elba. Upon the discovery of the La Fère plot, he fled to the headquarters of Rigaud, commanding the division of Seine-et-Marne, where he awaited Napoleon's arrival. At Waterloo, where as lieutenant-general he commanded the lancers and *chasseurs à cheval,* he is said to have fought with the "rage of desperation." The restored Bourbon government condemned him to death, and, following the example of Joseph Bonaparte, he fled to America.

Closely associated with Lefebvre-Desnouëttes was General Rigaud, who had sheltered him just before the Hundred Days. This general, who had served from the beginning of the Napoleonic wars, first as commander of the 28th Dragoons and afterwards as general of brigade, appears before the Hundred Days as a general of division. Upon Napoleon's return he abandoned the restored government and commanded the French troops at Chalons, where he was taken prisoner and carried to Frankfort. Escaping thence to America, he reappears in 1817 as one of the company of Napoleon's officers who had escaped the penalties of a death sentence.

[13] Damas-Hinard, Dictionnaire-Napoléon, 2me édition, 297.

These four, the brothers Lallemand, Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, and Rigaud, at once became the leading spirits among the exiles. Associated with them were General Bertrand Clausel, Count of the Empire and Marshal of France, General Vandamme, who commanded the Third Corps during the Hundred Days; Count Réal, the historiographer of the Republic and prefect of police under Napoleon, together with Colonels Galabert, Schultz, Combes, Jordan (an aide-de-camp of the Emperor's), Latapie, Vorster, Douarche, Charrasin, Taillade, Défourni, and many others of less rank. Several of them appeared upon the lists of those proscribed by Fouché. Others had left France fearing the vengeance of the Bourbon restoration known as the "White Terror."

Lafayette acted as the means of introduction of another exile in addition to Grouchy, whose tastes were more like those of the Sage of Monticello than were the Marshal's. Joseph Lakanal was originally a priest and a professor in Ariège in the Pyrenees. In 1792 he became a member of the National Convention and in the next year his name appears as one who not only voted for the death of Louis XVI but consistently followed the plans of the Revolution in doing all he could to blot out all traces of the old régime. In matters of education he continued to have a prominent place and was the author of the law establishing primary and central schools all over France. From 1795 to 1797 he was a member of the Council of Five Hundred. Opposed to the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, he was removed from his office as one of the executive commissaires of the government, and retired to a professorship in the École Centrale at Paris to be called in 1804, having again gained the support of Napoleon, to the stewardship of the Lycée Bonaparte. On the organization of the Institut National, afterwards the Institut de France, Lakanal was the first member to be elected, and with the Abbé Siéyès drew up the regulations of that body. In 1809 he was made inspector-general of weights and measures and aided in extending the use of the metric system, which had been made compulsory by the law

of 1801. At the second restoration he was proscribed as a regicide, and early in 1816 came to the United States.

Knowing Jefferson's interest in everything scientific, especially when coming from a French source, Lafayette gave Lakanal a cordial letter of introduction to Jefferson, in which he said, writing in English: "The bearer of these lines is Mr. Lakanal, Member of the French Institute, Officer of the University and Inspector-general of the new Metrical System, who abandons those functions and a handsome treatment to become a settler in the State of Kentucky. He has for several years been in the Representative Assemblies of France, and is going to seek in the U. S. Liberty, Security, and Happiness. I cannot procure for him a greater gratification than by introducing him to you, and I know you will find a pleasure in favouring him with your advices and recommendations for the part of the Country where he means to settle himself and family."[14] Thouin, of the Jardin du Roi, with whom Jefferson kept up a correspondence upon agricultural and horticultural subjects, also gave Lakanal a note to Jefferson: "Permit me to present to you one of our learned *confrères,* M. Lakanal, member of the department of history and ancient literature of our Institute, a man to be recommended by his morality as well as by his learning, to whom our scientific institutions owe many debts. He leaves our old Europe, in which civilization seems to be retrograding, to settle, with several of his friends, in young America, which is called to such high destinies, and where society already offers to its happy citizens, liberty, tranquility and good fortune."[15]

Lakanal left France with enough money to buy a farm on which to settle with his family and several companions. It was Lafayette's hope, as has been seen, that Lakanal would seek Jefferson's advice before he settled on his estate in this

[14] Lafayette to Jefferson, October 28, 1815, MS. Jefferson Papers, Department of State.

[15] Thouin to Jefferson, October 18, 1815. MS. Jefferson Papers, Department of State.

country. It appears, however, that he did not present his letters of introduction, but soon after his arrival in the United States went to Gallatin county, Kentucky, on the Ohio river, nearly opposite the French settlement at Vevay, Indiana.[16] Having settled on this farm, which he may have bargained for prior to leaving France, he wrote to Jefferson, June 1, 1816, enclosing the letters from Lafayette and Thouin. That a learned member of the French Institute should settle down in the wilds of Kentucky was strange enough, but his plan of diverting himself from the tedium of his wilderness home was almost ludicrous.

His letter to Jefferson was as follows:[17]

"Your Excellency:—I have the honor to address you a letter which I had hoped to have the inestimable benefit of presenting to you personally; but events over which I have had no control have changed my plans. Here I am upon the banks of the Ohio, upon an estate which I have just purchased: Gallatin County, in the vicinity of the French colony of Vevay. In this pleasant retreat I shall divide my time between the cultivation of my lands and that of letters. I purpose writing the history of the United States, for which I have been collecting materials for the past ten years. The spectacle of a free people supporting with obedience the salutary yoke of law will lessen the grief which I feel in being exiled from my country. She would be happy if your pacific genius had guided her destinies. The ambition of a single man has brought the enraged nations upon us. My country, prostrate, but struck by the wisdom of your administration, wishes for such as you of the new world to raise herself from her ruins. I hope that in writing your history and that of your predecessors, more or less illustrious, the picture will prove the painter and that, sustained by the

[16] No deed to Lakanal appears of record in Gallatin county, Kentucky.

[17] Lakanal to Jefferson, June 1, 1816, MS. Madison Papers, Department of State. In the Calendar of the Correspondence of James Madison, issued as a Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, this letter appears as from Lakanal to Madison.

beauty of my subject rather than by my own ability, I shall be able to say with a poet of antiquity, at the close of my work, 'Exegi monumentum aëre perennius.'

"Deign, your Excellency, to receive the tender and respectful homage of your very humble and very obedient servant, "Lakanal,

of the Institute of France and of the Legion of Honor.

"Gallatin Contry (sic) par Vevay, Indian-contry (sic), June 1, 1816."

Jefferson, whose mental endowment did not include a keen sense of humor, gravely wrote in reply the following very characteristic letter:[18]

"Monticello, July 30. 16

"Sir:—

"Your favor of June 1, with the letters it covered, was received a few days ago only; and had your worth been less known, the testimony of my friend Lafayette would have been a sufficient passport to my esteem and services. The affliction of such a change of scene as that of Paris for the banks of the Ohio, I can well conceive. But the wise man is at home everywhere, and the mind of the philosopher never wants occupation. I weep indeed for your country, because, altho' it has sinned much (for we impute of necessity to a whole nation the wrongs of which it permits an individual to make it the instrument), yet its sufferings are beyond its sins and their excesses are now become crimes in those committing them. We revolt against them the more too, when we see a nation equally guilty wielding the scourge, instead of writhing under its infliction at the same stake. But this cannot last. There is a day of judgment for that nation, and of resurrection for yours. My greatest fear is of premature efforts. It is an affliction the less for you, that you now see them from a safe shore; for to remain amidst sufferings which we cannot succour is useless pain.

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[18] Jefferson to Lakanal, July 30, 1816, MS. Jefferson Papers, Department of State.

"I am happy that in your retirement the subject to which you propose to avert your mind is an interesting one to us. We have not as yet a good history of our country, since its regenerated government. Marshall's is a mere party diatribe, and Botta's only as good as could have been expected from such a distance. I fear your distance from the depositories of authentic materials will give you trouble. It may, perhaps, oblige you at times to travel in quest of them. Should your researches bring you into this section of the country and anything here be worth your notice, we shall be glad to receive you as a guest at Monticello and to communicate freely anything possessed here. With every wish for your happiness in the new situation in which you are placed, I salute you with perfect esteem and respect.

"Thos. Jefferson.

"M. Lakanal of the Institute of France and Legion of Honor."

We may suspect that there was something slightly disingeneous in the reference by Lakanal to Napoleon as one "whose ambition had brought upon France the enraged nations of Europe," for Lakanal had received his highest honors from the hands of the Emperor from 1804 to the restoration of the Bourbons. His reference to the pacific genius of Jefferson shows that he knew what Jefferson's ideas were concerning Napoleon. But Jefferson, never losing an opportunity to express an opinion on the relations between Great Britain and France, replied in the same tone. Subsequent events showed that Lakanal was at a still later date in sympathy with the Bonapartist idea, when with Napoleon banished to Saint Helena, most Americans considered his régime to be a closed chapter in French history.

CHAPTER III.

The Society for the Cultivation of the Vine and Olive.

The fears which Madison and his cabinet showed on the arrival of Joseph Bonaparte in America were soon replaced in the public mind by expressions of sympathy for the victims of the Bourbon restoration. The era of good feeling, which began towards the close of Madison's administration was plainly not confined to political life. A deeply grounded optimism pervaded all branches of thought, political, religious, and social. To grant aid to the Napoleonic exiles, whom fancy depicted as tired of strife and eager to win an honest livelihood under the peaceful system of the new world, was but one of the many evidences that Americans generally were conscious of the isolation of their country from the sources of foreign discord. Full of a benevolent sympathy, they were ready to succor those whom the wars of Europe had ruined and exiled. The cordial greeting of Clay to the ex-king of Spain was thus only a manifestation of the same feeling of Americans toward the unfortunate, which was afterwards shown in expressions of good will to struggling Greece and to revolted Spanish America. Clay but voiced the sentiment of the people.

Disliked as Napoleon was by many Americans on account of his attitude towards the United States in the first decade of the century, that feeling was now more than counterbalanced by disgust at the reactionary policy of Bourbon France. Many of the exiles were unquestionably in impoverished circumstances, and in order to help them, as well as to insure their becoming permanent settlers in the United States, a scheme was devised by which, upon the organization of the exiles into an agricultural society, they might

receive a large grant of land from the government in a part of the country having a climate as nearly as possible like that of southern France. Upon this grant they might enter into the cultivation of the vine and olive, two branches of agricultural activity which needed encouragement, or rather a start, for the cultivation of the olive had not as yet been attempted.

The company was organized in the fall of 1816 at Philadelphia and at first it was thought that it would be able to undertake a settlement without the assistance of the government. The month of December, 1816, was spent in prospecting for a suitable location for the colony. A number went from Philadelphia west to Pittsburg and thence down the Ohio in search of a favorable situation, but nothing met their fancy. They were advised while in Kentucky to make a settlement on the Tombigbee in the Mississippi Territory, and to petition Congress for a grant in the tract recently acquired by treaty from the Creek Indians.

Through the exertions of Colonel Nicholas Simon Parmentier, the secretary of the company, the refugees succeeded in obtaining a grant from Congress of four contiguous townships, each six miles square, for the cultivation of the vine and olive. The terms of the grant were very liberal; indeed, the land was almost a gift. According to the law which passed Congress, March 3, 1817,[1] the Secretary of the Treasury was authorized to contract for the sale of the four townships at the rate of two dollars per acre with an agent to be named and duly authorized by the French society, the whole to be paid for within fourteen years. The stipulations on the part of the government were that there should be at least one settler for each half section, two hundred and eighty-eight in all, and that no one member should hold more than six hundred and forty acres. The final grants giving clear title could be obtained only by furnishing proof that actual settlement had been made and that the settler had

[1] Statutes at Large, III, 374.

fulfilled certain conditions named by the Secretary of the Treasury. One condition to which the emigrants strenuously objected was that the title to the whole property should be given the agent only upon the fulfillment of the contract by each settler. They desired, and with some show of justice, that titles should be granted in severalty to each upon proof given that the other conditions were complied with. Had this been conceded, the history of the settlement on the Tombigbee might have been different. Crawford's condition was devised to prevent speculation in the lands, but it had no such effect.[2]

The headquarters of the society were at Philadelphia and there the shares were subscribed for and the allotments made. The required number of applicants was soon received and the organization of the society perfected. General Charles Lallemand was elected president, a Mr. Martin second vice-president, and Nicholas S. Parmentier secretary. William Lee, formerly American consul at Bordeaux and afterwards second auditor of the Treasury, was originally chosen as first vice-president, but he afterwards vacated in favor of Charles Villars, who was the general agent of the company. The title of the organization was the French Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, but it was known variously as the Society for the Cultivation of the Vine and Olive, the French Emigrant Association, and the Tombigbee Association. Among the names which appear in the first list of shareholders were Marshal Grouchy and his sons, Generals Charles and Henri Lallemand, Clausel, and Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, together with Colonels Galabert, Schultz, Combe, Jordan, Vorster, Douarche, Charrasin, Taillade, and Défourni. Lakanal was also one of the shareholders, and

[2] Crawford to Meigs, November 10, 1817, American State Papers, Public Lands, III, 387; Message of President Monroe, March 16, 1818; Richardson's Messages, II, 30, giving information in compliance with Senate resolution of December 31, 1817, as to proceedings under the act of March 3, 1817. Crawford to Monroe, February 19, 1818, stated that allotments to three hundred and fifty immigrants had been approved by the President.

although not upon the list, Count Réal and General Vandamme were interested in the movement.[3]

Before the filing of the petition to Congress, the society, through its officers, applied to Jefferson for a plan of government for the projected settlement. In a letter written from Philadelphia in January, 1817, Martin and Parmentier asked Jefferson to trace for them "the basis of a social pact for the local regulations" of the society. Jefferson declined to do so, and writing to William Lee, he gave his reasons therefor. "No one," he wrote, "can be more sensible than I am of the honor of their confidence in me, so flatteringly manifested in this resolution; and certainly no one can feel stronger dispositions than myself to be useful to them, as well in return for this great mark of respect, as from feelings for the situation of strangers, forced by the misfortunes of their native country to seek another by adoption, so distant, and so different from that in all its circumstances. I commiserate the hardships they have to encounter, and equally applaud the resolution with which they meet them, as well as the principles proposed for their government. That their emigration may be for the happiness of their descendants, I can but believe; but from the knowledge I have of the country they have left, and its state of social intercourse and comfort, their own personal happiness will undergo severe trial. The laws however which are to effect this must flow from their own habits, their own feelings, and the resources of their own minds. No stranger to these could possibly propose regulations adapted to them. Every people have their own particular habits, ways of thinking, manners, etc., which have grown up with them from their infancy, are become a part of their nature, and to which the regulations which are to make them happy must be accommodated. No member of a foreign country can have a sufficient sympathy with these. The institutions of Lycurgus, for example, would not have suited Athens, nor those of Solon Lacedaemon. The

[3] American State Papers, Public Lands, III, 396.

organizations of Locke were impracticable for Carolina, and those of Rousseau and Mably for Poland.

"Turning inwardly on myself from these eminent illustrations of the truth of my observations, I feel all the presumption it would manifest should I undertake to do what this respectable society is alone qualified to do suitably for itself. There are some preliminary questions too which are particularly for their own consideration. Is it proposed that this shall be a separate state? Or a county of a state? Or a mere voluntary association, as those of the Quakers, Dunkars, Menonists? A separate state it cannot be, because from the tract it asks, it would not be of more than 20 miles square, and in establishing new states, regard is had to a certain degree of equality in size. If it is to be a county of a state, it cannot be governed by its own laws, but must be subject to those of the state of which it is a part. If merely a voluntary association, the submission of its members will be merely voluntary also; as no act of coercion would be permitted by the general law. These considerations must control the society, and themselves alone can modify their own intentions and wishes to them. With this apology for declining a task to which I am so unequal, I pray them to be assured of my sincere wishes for their success and happiness."[4]

Although, as has been said, many of the shareholders were dissatisfied with the conditions imposed by Secretary Crawford, the society decided to occupy the grant and to make a settlement. The first installment of about one hundred and fifty left Philadelphia in December, 1817, but the greater number of the shareholders did not follow for some months. Chartering a schooner, the McDonough, a large body of the emigrants sailed from Philadelphia late in the following April. They took with them an assortment of vines and olive plants, which they had promised to cultivate on the lands given them by the government.

[4] Jefferson to William Lee, January 1, 1817. MS. Jefferson Papers, Department of State.

The McDonough reached the entrance of Mobile Bay in safety, but when opposite Point Bowyer a heavy gale arose, driving the schooner on shore. Help arrived from Fort Bowyer and all the passengers and cargo were saved. At Mobile, whence the company proceeded, they were tendered a public dinner and welcomed to Alabama. A government barge was placed at their disposal, and with the cargo on board it ascended the Tombigbee River to Fort Stoddart. In July the emigrants were at a place called White Bluffs, and there they decided to lay out a town. A name had been selected for the new city by Count Réal and the streets of "Demopolis" were surveyed and log cabins erected before the settlers knew whether or not the side of the "City of the People" was within the government grant. When the government surveyors arrived, they found that Demopolis was outside the limits of the grant. Demopolis was thereupon deserted and the settlers moved inland, where they laid out a new town, calling it Aigleville. The original town site was finally sold by the government to an American company for fifty-two dollars per acre and is now a town of about two thousand inhabitants in the northern part of Marengo county, Alabama. Both the name of the town and that of the county preserve the recollection of the settlement made by the soldiers of Napoleon.[5]

That these French colonists should begin their settlement by trying to establish a town throws an interesting light upon the ideas they had in regard to an agricultural colony. True to their traditions their interests centered around the town. Unlike the Anglo-Saxon pioneer, who looked first to the clearing of the land and was willing to bear the discomforts of isolation whilst making a place for himself in the wilderness, the French turned their attention first of all to the organization of a town that their social proclivities might

[5] "The Bonapartists in Alabama," by Anne Bozeman Lyon in the Gulf States Historical Magazine, March, 1903. Pickett, History of Alabama, II, 386-399. "The French Grant in Alabama," by Gaius Whitfield, Jr., in Ala. Hist. Soc. Trans. Volume IV.

have a common center. In the location of Aigleville they were as unlucky as in the selection of a site for Demopolis, for, like the earlier choice, the second settlement was outside the confines of the government grant.

According to the terms of the law making the grant, the Secretary of the Treasury entered into a contract with the society, stipulating the methods of allotment and the plan by which the lands were to be cultivated. This contract was not signed until January, 1819, by which time many of the shareholders had left Alabama and forfeited their claims. The contract provided that the legal number of settlements should be made within three years. Within fourteen years ten acres in each one hundred and sixty were to be cleared and under cultivation. One acre in each quarter section was to be planted in vines within seven years. The same length of time was given in which to plant five hundred olive trees, unless "it be proven to the President that olives cannot be grown." The settlements and allotments already made were confirmed. Other French emigrants might be admitted upon the same conditions, but actual settlement was made in all cases an indispensable condition.[6]

The idea was not new, that French officers, many of them

[6] American State Papers, Public Lands, III, 396, 435, 537. A resolution of the Senate of April 17, 1820, referred to the Secretary of the Treasury the memorial of John M. Chapron, which asked that the terms of the original grant be so changed that each settler might have a good title independent of the others. Crawford reported, April 18, 1820, that he still believed such a change inexpedient, as the "principal object of the grant was not that a small number of tracts of land should be cultivated in vines and olives, but that the whole tract should be settled by persons understanding the culture of those plants." Charles Villars asked, December 12, 1821, that the law be modified, reporting that there were then eighty-one actual planters, 327 persons all told, with 1100 acres in full cultivation, including 10,000 vines, and that the company had spent from first to last about $160,000. "In spite of our enemies," he said, "we have done more work than could reasonably be expected, considering the many losses we have sustained, to repair to the spot and after the beginning of our settlements the want of communication in a rough and hardly explored country, the greatest part of which has been overflowed nine months of the year and the sickness which has visited us and deprives yet many families of their lands."

of noble birth, should attempt an agricultural colony in the wilderness of America. Every precedent, however, beginning with that of Ribaut in Florida, was one of failure. It could not be otherwise; to beat swords into ploughshares was possible of accomplishment by a citizen militia, but not by professional soldiers used to command and to the order of a military system. "Actual settlement" as farmers in the wilds of Alabama was not merely a visionary enterprise on the part of many of the old generals. Success in the undertaking was no less than a physical impossibility. The veterans of the greatest series of campaigns which modern Europe had ever seen were not the philosophers who could, as Jefferson wrote to Lakanal, "be at home everywhere," clearing stumps and tending grapevines, thousands of miles away from the center of all their interests.

The more important members of the company quickly realized the hopelessness of the undertaking and the impossibility of living as simple farmers on small tracts of land. Only one of them made any extensive settlement, and that was General Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, the comrade of the Lallemands in the conspiracy of La Fère. He was by far the wealthiest of the settlers on the Tombigbee and frequently received money from Europe with which to improve his estate. His holding of about five hundred acres was the best in the colony, and in addition to a good-sized house in which he lived, he built a log cabin which he called his "sanctuary." Here, according to tradition, he had a large bronze statue of Napoleon. Around the base of the figure were the swords and pistols which the general had taken in battle and around the walls were draped the colors of the Emperor.

Other men who had some note as actors in the events of French history from the Revolution to Waterloo were for a time in and about the Tombigbee settlement. Péniers, a member of the Convention which had voted for the death of Louis XVI, had a small place just outside the government tract. In the crowd of exiles which gathered about Aigleville were Colonel Nicholas Raoul, who had accompanied

Napoleon to Elba, and Colonel Cluis, an aide to Marshal Lefebvre. Péniers was afterwards appointed a sub-agent to the Seminoles and went to Florida, where he died in 1823. Raoul took up the more peaceful career of a ferryman, and in this capacity he ran a ferryboat at French Creek, near Demopolis. Tiring of this life, he finally went to Mexico and is last heard of as an officer in the revolutionist army. Cluis became a tavern keeper at Greensboro, Alabama, where he died.[7]

Clausel and Henri Lallemand made settlements through their lessees only. The other officers, the Grouchys, Charles Lallemand, Galabert, Jordan, Défourni and the rest, were reported to the government as having made "no performance," and their claims lapsed.[8] Lakanal's name was similarly reported, for though he had given up his Kentucky retreat, he made no settlement in the grant of the company. The association, after various petitions to the government to have the terms of the contract changed, finally disbanded and the colonists were scattered.

The history of the French settlers on the Tombigbee is but one record of misfortune. So many mistakes had been made in surveying the government grant that no one was sure of his title, even if the stipulations as to the cultivation and clearing of the lands were adhered to. Efforts to cultivate vines resulted only in failure. When they were finally made to grow at all, the grapes were poor and yielded a miserable quality of wine, and the fruit matured during the heat of summer. The cultivation of the olive was also a signal failure. In the face of all these discouragements several settlers continued to occupy their small tracts and to eke out a precarious existence in the wilderness. Those who could do so abandoned their holdings and sought homes in Mobile. There they formed a small circle which tradition says was of unusual cultivation and refinement.

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[7] Pickett, op. cit., *passim.;* Lyon and Whitfield, op. cit.
[8] Public Lands, III, 396.

Before the summer of 1818 was over, Philadelphia was again the center of attraction for many of the members of the association. Joseph Bonaparte was the magnet which drew the Bonapartist following thither. Upon his financial assistance they could rely when in need and it was a source of charity of which some of them were not slow to take advantage.

Charles Lallemand, in writing to his brother Henri, said: "I have more ambition than can be gratified by the colony upon the Tombigbee."[9] It is certain that he had little sympathy with the bucolic purposes of the society for the cultivation of the vine and olive. While, as has been said, he was a shareholder in the company, it is doubtful if he ever visited the Tombigbee, for while the settlers were considering a place for a settlement, Lallemand was in New Orleans purchasing supplies for his own colony in Texas.

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[9] Lyon, op. cit.

CHAPTER IV.

The Napoleonic Confederation.

In one way only could the dreams of the restoration of Napoleon cease, and that was by the death of the prisoner of Saint Helena. So long as he remained alive his former adherents, who had been driven out of France by the edicts of the Restoration, continued to plan schemes for the rescue of the Emperor. Each month showed that the Bourbons were more secure on the throne of France and the utter impossibility of winning back that country to a Napoleonic régime even if the head of the family were liberated. Those of the Old Guard who were in America talked of and planned for Napoleon's escape. With him were bound up all their hopes. No scheme was too absurd to be gravely discussed by his old followers, if only it concerned the rescue of their chief or the restoration of the fortunes of his family.

As has been said, Joseph, alone of Napoleon's brothers, succeeded in making his escape to the United States. Lucien had intended joining Napoleon at Rochefort, but he and his family were so closely watched that escape was impossible. He remained under the suspicious eyes of the European powers and continually excited their fears until Napoleon's death. While at Rome in 1817 under the protection of the Pope, Lucien was reported to be in constant communication with America, and fearing that a new Bonapartist intrigue was on foot, the French ambassador wrote to the Papal secretary of state, asking that a closer watch be kept upon Lucien and his family because " his remarks, opinions, and schemes left no doubt as to his intentions." Lucien continually denied that he was engaged in any plan whatever for the political restoration of his family, and very probably

his connection with any such intrigue went no further than the mere knowledge that such schemes existed.[1]

It was otherwise with Joseph, the Count de Survilliers. He was surrounded by a crowd of Napoleon's old generals. The very freedom of the United States gave these exiles full opportunity for the discussion of every plan for the escape of Napoleon and the rehabilitation of his fortunes. That the Emperor was alive was a sufficient inspiration to them for intrigue, even if the schemes when developed showed only the madness of desperation. Europe could not then be the scene of another return. The only field for such effort was to be America.

The Count de Survilliers was a very different personage from Joseph, King of Spain and the Indies. The American dominions of Spain, as they were in the time of the Bonaparte king, had changed greatly in the three years since the battle of Vittoria. The very fact that the throne of the mother country had been made the plaything of Napoleon gave additional force to the growth of revolutionary ideas in Spanish America. On this account and thanks also to the reactionary policy of the *Camarilla,* Spanish power was openly defied from the La Plata to the Isthmus. At the time of the Bonapartist occupation of the throne of Spain, the sympathizers with Napoleon's policy, or *Josefinos,* as they were called, had no following in the Spanish colonies in America.

Each colony saw the organization of juntas to govern in the name of the displaced Ferdinand VII. By these means the colonies got an idea of the weakness of the mother country, imbibed some notions of self-government, and even experienced some of the benefits of having a government on this side of the Atlantic. The very loyalty of the juntas served in the end to nourish the disloyalty of all the Spanish-American provinces. In Mexico revolutionary ideas had at that time a little less currency owing to the policy of the

[1] Jung, Lucien Bonaparte et ses Mémoires, III, 372, 399.

viceroy, Apodaca, one of the most energetic of Spanish officials. He had so prudently managed the affairs of the viceroyalty that less discontent appeared there than in the other dominions of the king of Spain. Apodaca's four years of power represented a period of comparative quiet.

Shortly after the usurpation of the Spanish throne by the Bonapartes, Portugal, refusing to join in the continental system, was occupied by the French army under Junot. The royal family thereupon fled over-sea to Brazil. Why should not Joseph Bonaparte, the king of Spain and the Indies, driven from his throne in Europe, set up his standard in the new world, there to reign until an opportunity offered to return to Europe? The idea was quixotic, perhaps mad, but there is no doubt that such a plan existed, even if the ex-king himself cannot be shown to have given it his active support and sympathy.

The idea of the establishment of Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Mexico as King of Spain and the Indies seemed to Americans so absurd whenever it was discussed, that the editor of Niles's Register did not hesitate to denounce as "manufactured" a letter in his own columns, written from London in July, 1816, about the time the Count de Survilliers was negotiating for the purchase of Point Breeze, at Bordentown, New Jersey. The correspondent declared that a conspiracy was under way to place the Count upon the throne of Mexico and that the body of generals, who had followed him to America, were willing to unite their means with the defeated insurgents in Mexico "to drive the Spaniards from their colonies, and to establish a mighty empire on the shores of the Pacific." Joseph Bonaparte, it was said, though unambitious, had been powerfully worked upon by the arguments of the exiled French officers, who were "uneasy at the state of inaction to which they had been reduced." "Nothing now prevented their immediate engagement in this enterprise but the refusal, on the part of the government of the United States, to undertake any ostensible co-operation." This statement was so ridiculous that it was difficult to take any

part of the letter seriously, and the editor seemed to be justified in scoffing at the whole story. The correspondent's source of information he declared to be from America.[2]

For some time after the publication of the sensational article in Niles's Register, there was no apparent reason for believing that the United States was to be made the base of any Napoleonic enterprise. Jung says, in his memoirs of Lucien Bonaparte, that in July, 1817, a schooner, the Aile, left Philadelphia under the command of a Captain Huibet for the purpose of bringing Lucien with his family and some of his friends to America. "The schooner reached Malta but was unable to reach Civita Vecchia." In lieu of positive evidence this expedition, if it had such an object as the one given by Jung, cannot be said to have had a political end. Jung's account may be included among his many statements which have their inspiration in his hostility to the Bonapartist cause.[3] Similarly he connects the ill-fated attempt of Xavier Mina against the viceroy of Mexico in 1817 as undertaken in aid of the fortunes of Joseph Bonaparte, the exking of Spain. Nothing has been found to support this statement. The younger Mina had always been opposed to the Bonapartes in Spain, though his uncle, General Espos y Mina, told Joseph Bonaparte that had Napoleon agreed to remove the French troops from Spain in 1812, he would have been willing to recognize Joseph as the rightful occupant of the Spanish throne.[4] That the Mina expedition occurred at the time when such a conspiracy was said to have been on foot, and when, as will be seen later, Lallemand was organizing his Texan colony of Champ d'Asile, near the scene of Mina's defeat, is probably nothing more than a coincidence.

There was one man in the United States who had reason to fear the consequences of the presence of a member of the Bonaparte family in America, and that, as has been said,

[2] Niles's Register, XI, 60.
[3] Jung, III, 380.
[4] Du Casse, Mémoires du Roi Joseph, X, 240.

was Hyde de Neuville, the minister from the Bourbon Louis XVIII, resident at Washington. De Neuville had a close watch kept upon the movements of the Count de Survilliers and took careful note of his relations with the body of Napoleonic officers who congregated at Philadelphia and at Bordentown. While at Philadelphia, late in August, 1817, he came into possession of some letters which had been sent to the Count de Survilliers and intercepted in all probability by one of the minister's agents. De Neuville, upon reading them, left post-haste for Washington to interview Rush, who was acting as secretary of state, and to lay the papers before him for presentation to the President.[5] In a note to Rush he stated that some very important papers had fallen into his hands, the authority of which could not be doubted. Their purpose was sufficiently clear to raise his fears that a conspiracy had been developed involving the security of his French master and the peace of the United States. His first note did not explain what the papers were, but that the plan disclosed by them was as dangerous as could be. Before deciding that the plan as outlined in the papers was merely the delirium of a madman, he desired to settle the question of the genuineness of the documents. "I can," he wrote, "in no event neglect any measure of precaution and as the affair particularly interests the federal government" he brought it to its notice unofficially that an exhaustive examination of the papers might be made. While if genuine, as he believed the papers were, the project presented danger, the conspirator who was the author of them was no less a madman.[6]

Soon afterwards De Neuville brought the documents to

[5] Hyde de Neuville, Mémoires et Souvenirs, II, 321.

[6] Hyde de Neuville to the Secretary of State, Philadelphia, August 30, 1817, MS. John Quincy Adams Papers; same to the same, September 7, 1817, MS. Archives, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State; Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, IV, 9; Hyde de Neuville to the Duc de Richelieu, August 31, 1817, Mémoires et Souvenirs, II, 319. Rush was acting secretary until September 22, 1817, when John Quincy Adams took the oath of office.

John Quincy Adams, who had taken charge of the Department of State, and together they made an examination of them. The package which was wrapped in four covers, was addressed *"A Monsieur le Comte de Survilliers, pour lui seul,"* and sealed with the insignia of the Convention, the liberty-cap on the head of a pike; surrounding the device were the words "Lakanal, Deputy to the National Convention." Within the packet were six documents, each in a bold handwriting, plainly without disguise, and signed by the same hand. De Neuville had no doubt whatever that they were the work of the one whose seal enclosed the packet, and the Secretary of State, on examining and comparing them with other letters of Lakanal, concurred in De Neuville's opinion that they were undoubtedly genuine.

After consultation with Adams, the French minister addressed the following official note to the department, September 12:

"Sir,

"Circumstances of a very extraordinary nature have caused several documents to fall into my hands which announce the existence in America of an association organized under the name of the Napoleonean Confederacy. From these papers, which I have already had the honor to communicate to you, it results that a very considerable levy of men is on the eve of taking place in some of the Western States or Territories.

"The apparent object of this conspiracy is the conquest of a Spanish province; but the real one is only known to the leaders; according to their own report, it is to cause Joseph Bonaparte to be proclaimed in Mexico, King of Spain and the Indies.

"An enterprise of this nature appeared to me, at first view, so improbable, that I considered these papers as forged and designedly placed in such a way as to come under my view, although they were brought to me under the seal of secrecy by persons worthy of entire confidence.

"In a case of such moment, involving so deeply the interests of the Federal Government, the peace of both hemispheres, and the honor of my country thus committed in a foreign land, by Frenchmen whom it has been necessary to exile and even to repulse from their native country, but the greater part of whom are not forever ejected from its bosom, it was my duty to precipitate nothing, to hazard nothing, and above all to neglect nothing which could well establish the authenticity of this culpable and even mad correspondence; for how is it possible that certain individuals should believe that Spaniards, who originally placed themselves in a state of insurrection only to escape the yoke of Napoleon, would now consent to accept a Bonaparte for master, and that citizens of the United States would take up arms to conquer a throne for him?

"It is very painful for me, Sir, to be under the necessity of unfolding an intrigue which might possibly implicate subjects of His Majesty the King my Master; but I still cherish the hope that among the Frenchmen whose names have been used on this occasion, there are several who, having been for some time desirous of putting themselves under the protection of the government of their own country, will not have connected themselves with a project so directly opposed to the object they have in view; that others have only been misled for a moment, and that, finally, all the odium and madness of the Napoleonean Confederation will fall on some individuals, without country, without remorse, who in 1817 have audacity to employ their criminal seal of 1793, and thus proclaim the fatal part they bore in our most deplorable misfortunes. Are these men ignorant that they inhabit the land of liberty and not that of anarchy? Do they not know that there is not a single good American who is not struck with horror at the crimes which these disastrous times recall to our memory?

"My first verifications, as well as those which you since had the goodness to make jointly with me, no longer leaving any doubt of the authenticity of the papers which have been

delivered to me, I have the honor to request you, Sir, to make the President of the United States acquainted with this event.

" The papers to be submitted to him consist of a letter of four pages, headed ULTIMATUM. This letter is wholly written as you yourself ascertained, in the hand of the said Lakanal, formerly a member of the Convention, and who, by the documents annexed to my letter, appears now to be invested with the character of Principal Commissioner near the Executive Committee.—2. Of a REPORT, forming twenty-three pages, likewise in the handwriting of Mr. Lakanal.—3. A PETITION of the same Lakanal,—by which Joseph Bonaparte is requested to exercise, from the moment, his rights of sovereignty, to grant commissions, distribute crosses, ribbands, to create counties, marquisates &c., &c., and above all to confer on the petitioner ' a Spanish distinction ' as ' this new mark of your gracious favor will give me,' adds he, ' a degree of political importance, in the eyes of your Mexican subjects, which I venture to assure Your Majesty will promote Your Majesty's best interests.'—4. A vocabulary of the wandering Indians in the neighborhood of Mexico, towards Santa Fe.—5. A list of the Indian Tribes inhabiting northern Louisiana, etc.—6. An enigmatical vocabulary composed of forty-two columns or alphabets, with a Latin word corresponding with each letter. This vocabulary is followed by a key, beginning thus, ' In using this vocabulary the Latin word may be written, although that language be not understood, and the following use is to be made of it.' The key concludes with this article of the rules: ' Every partial correspondence should be headed with this word, " Oratio," a prayer, because it will appear merely to be an extract, whether in express terms, or in others equivalent, of the Lord's Prayer, and because this innocent stratagem may have its effect upon the minds of the Spaniards, who are generally attentive to all religious forms.'—7. Of four covers which enclosed the packet.

" Such, Sir, are the documents composing this correspond-

ence. My first duty was to give an account of this event to my government; my next was to come and confer upon the subject of it with the Federal Government which will doubtless see in the zeal of my conduct a new proof of the frank and loyal friendship of my Sovereign.

"Allow me, Sir, to request you to have the goodness to inform me, as soon as possible, of the measures which the President will have judged proper to prescribe, that I may communicate them without delay to His Majesty, the King my Master, who, I doubt not, will be most happy to learn that a plot threatening to disturb the tranquility of this country, and become a subject of alarm and discord to both continents, has been stifled at its birth by the wisdom and firmness of the Federal Government.

"I request you, Sir, to be pleased to tender my profound respects to the President, and to accept the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

"The Minister of France, G. Hyde de Neuville.
Washington, September 12, 1817."[7]

De Neuville enclosed with this note certified copies of the papers referred to, with the exception of the "enigmatical vocabulary," which is not on file.

The "Ultimatum" is as follows: "Sire!

"I am charged to lay before Your Majesty the annexed documents, and to request that Your Majesty will be pleased to examine them in order in which they are presented.

"I was invited to repair to Your Majesty for the purpose of making this important communication; but, being on the eve of setting out on a long and fatiguing journey, it became necessary for me to husband both my strength and my funds.

"I was unwilling however to trust this important dispatch to the mail, as that conveyance would not have offered the certainty of an inviolable secrecy.

"The person who has undertaken to deliver these papers,

[7] De Neuville to John Quincy Adams, September 17, 1817, MS. Archives, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State. The translation was made in the department at the time.

to the contents of which he is an utter stranger, is not personally known to me, but he is to those who merit my entire confidence.

"Throughout the whole of this important enterprise I have had no other merit, Sire, than that of conducting myself in these countries as a man of honor, and of rendering useful to Your Majesty's service, the tender and profound veneration felt for Your August Dynasty; I have already on several occasions entertained Your Majesty on these general dispositions of the minds and feelings of the people of these countries.

"Deign, Sire, to transmit to me your orders, as speedily as it may please Your Majesty; as Your Majesty will be sensible of all the danger attending the smallest delay.

"I repeat to Your Majesty that the common profession of our political faith is and always will be: 'The King has nothing to do in this affair; it is our unbounded devotion to His Illustrious Dynasty, which prompts us to act; we are consistant in our principles; we wish for free states only, and legitimate princes in the just acceptation which Reason gives to these words. The King neither will, nor can, surrender his rights; but he expects everything from the goodness of his cause and the attachment of the brave Spaniards, seconded by all the friends of the cause of nations, arrayed against Power imposed by Force.'

"I await Your Majesty's answer with extreme impatience.

"I have the honor to be, Sire, Your Majesty's Most Humble, Most Obedient and Most Faithful Servant and Subject,

Lakanal."[8]

The personal petition of Lakanal follows. This is indeed the delirium of a madman and it is difficult to see what the learned Lakanal meant in some of his phrases.

"Sire:

"Deign to cast your eyes on this petition, which is of a

[8] Original, certified copy and official translation, MS. Archives, Department of State.

personal nature, although closely connected with the great enterprise. Some preliminary observations, though brief, are rendered indispensible.

" If, in the tenth century, Capet usurped the crown of the weak Louis V, this outrage, notorious and well-authenticated, cannot be obligatory upon the nation which was degraded and oppressed by it.

" To say, in the nineteenth century, that nations composed of a numerous, enlightened and brave population, are the patrimony of a few families destitute of courage and understanding, is a folly undeserving of any answer dictated by common-sense.

" A general and just outcry has been raised against negro-slavery,—but shall not white men be free? And shall not the world ring with cries against cannibalism, when the inevitable period arrives when nations, roused by indignation, shall break with fury their chains on their oppressors heads?

" Our villagers, our very children, now-a-days, know that men are born free; that populous nations are the sovereigns, and that the only legitimate Kings are the Kings of their free choice.

" Two ages of darkness, the diplomatic quackery of the cabinets of Europe, the juggling of the priesthood, will never prevail against these immutable truths.

" Sire, Your Majesty alone reigns lawfully over the Spains and the Indies; and if the decree of fate remove you forever from a throne lawfully acquired, it would not be less the just patrimony of your children.

" The imbecile Bourbons know all this as well as we do, and this terrifying idea affrights them even in the recesses of their usurped palaces. Millions of bayonets were necessary to remove the Illustrious Dynasty of Your Majesty from the throne, and millions of bayonets are wanted to keep the stupid Bourbons there.

"Will Your Majesty be pleased to allow me to address you a question?

"Why do you not continue to exercise the acts of sovereignty?

"Although far distant from a throne which he had never filled, Louis, the imposed and the impostor, did for the space of twenty years grant pensions, distribute brevets, crosses and ribbands, create counties, marquisates, &c. &c.

"In the position in which I am placed by the momentous interests of Your Majesty, I respectfully request of you to confer upon me a Spanish distinction, which may affiliate me in some sort with that nation, with which I have been greatly conversant from my childhood, at the foot of the Pyreneean Mountains, having been born in the ancient County of Foix, now the Department of the Ariège, where a part of my family still resides.

"This new mark of your gracious favor will give me a degree of political importance in the eyes of your Mexican subjects, which, I venture to assure you, will promote Your Majesty's best interests.

"My irrevocable resolution is to make known that Your Majesty has taken no part in this great affair, and that you expect everything from the goodness of your cause, and from the good-will of the Spanish Nation.

"I have the honor to be, Sire, Your Majesty's Most Humble, Most Obedient, and Most Faithful Servant and Subject,

Lakanal."[9]

The report is somewhat more lucid, especially when it asks the "King" to grant 65,000 francs in aid of the enterprise:

"REPORT addressed to His Majesty, the King of Spain and the Indies, by his Faithful Subjects, the Citizens composing the Napoleonean Confederation.

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[9] Original, certified copy and official translation, MS. Archives, Department of State.

" Sire :—

" In the course of the profound reflections which we have made upon the momentous subject which occupies us, and which constantly engages our thoughts, that on which we have dwelt the longest, as being the most easy to realize, has been to repair to the spot with some evidence of your goodness.

" We at first proceeded upon a small scale, because we only thought of acting with our individual means.

" Against the success of our enterprise, there were many numerous chances. However, we were devoted, the sacrifice was entire, we held nothing in reserve.

" By the progressive increase of information which sprang up on all sides, when we saw ourselves surrounded by a number of experienced associates, a project which was but indistinctly seen and was in some sort the spring of our first ideas, became a regular plan, well concerted in its ensemble and judiciously calculated in all its details.

" However, in organizing a sort of civic propaganda, we have only contemplated forming an enterprise perfectly civil; the accessories, such as uniforms, arms, tents, which seem to carry with them a certain military character, are only intended for our personal preservation.

" Nevertheless, on casting our eyes on the statement of the Indian tribes annexed to this report, the greater part of whom rove through the countries we must pass through, we have been aware of the necessity of being in a situation to resist them, in case these turbulent tribes should show marks of hostility.

" We have thought it equally important to anticipate any possible attack from a Spanish party, as the best means of subduing it.

" Finally, it has appeared advantageous to show ourselves with a respectable display of force, to secure the prompt success of the negotiation.

" In this state of things, our common deliberation has reached its highest maturity, and its results are invariably

fixed in the project of an arrêté, which we are about to submit to Your Majesty.

"We request Your Majesty to remark, that in the course of our successive propositions, there have been neither tergiversation nor retrograde steps.

"The frame of our project has merely been enlarged because we have looked in the face all the obstacles which were to be overcome; but all our steps toward the proposed object are, we hesitate not to say, so many points of a straight line.

"At the present moment, and under every possible supposition, our success is ascertained, or there is nothing certain on earth.

"The following is the definite project; the first dispatch which will follow it, will be dated from Mexico or near to the frontiers of that Kingdom.

"Article 1. The Napoleonean Confederation shall be extended to the effective number of nine hundred members, armed and equipped as flankers of the Independent Troops of Mexico.

"Article 2. With a view to combine secrecy with celerity in this operation, there shall be named immediately one hundred and fifty members, as Commissioners, who shall repair without delay to the different points of the states, of the Missouri Territory, of the Illinois Territory, of the District of Columbia, of the Michigan Territory, of Tennessee, Kentucky and Ohio, pointed out in the statement, which will be annexed to the present arrêté.

"Population of the above States and Territories:

Missouri Terr.	20,845	Michigan Terr. ..	4,762
Illinois Terr.	12,282	Tennessee Terr. ..	261,727
Mississippi Terr. ..	40,352	Kentucky	406,511
Dist. of Columbia..	24,023	Ohio (uncertain)	

"Article 4. Each Commissioner shall repair to the places, where are his relations, friends, acquaintances and connections and shall associate with him as many as five

individuals, known by their principles to be favorable to the nature of the undertaking, and shall endeavor to attach them still more strongly to it, by some small presents, benefits and by hopes founded upon future contingencies soon to be realized, according to the character and condition of the persons; he shall not unfold himself as to the ultimate object of the enterprise, and on all occasions, he shall employ economy and circumspection.

"Article 5. The period for the return of the Commissioners is irrevocably fixed and during their mission they shall inform the Executive Committee, day by day, and in cipher, of the progress of their operations, and point out to it the objects of armament and equipment, which cannot be procured upon the spot, in order that the Committee may take the most speedy means of obtaining them with the funds placed at its disposal.

"Article 6. There shall be immediately appointed a Commissioner to repair successively to Louisville, Natchez and, if necessary, to New Orleans to procure at the expense of the Confederation two field-pieces in fit order for service.

"Article 7. The statement of the new expenses to be incurred in the execution of the present arrêté is adopted as prepared by the Special Commissioner; in consequence the charges of equipment, armament and provisions remain fixed at the rate of 200 francs for each one of the seven hundred and fifty members, who are to be added to the Confederation; the total of the additional expense to be incurred is 150,000 francs. But several of the new members will be able to contribute personally, instead of being a burden to the common fund; others will be equipped at their expense; others will be enabled to make advances. From the views taken, which are considered exact, or at least satisfactory, it is estimated that only half of the new members will be chargeable to the Society; in consequence, the additional expense will be reduced to the sum of 65,000 francs.

"Article, the last. His Majesty, King Joseph, shall be humbly entreated to have that sum placed at the disposal of

his faithful subjects, the members composing the Napoleonean Confederation.

"A recipisse shall be addressed to the King signed by all the said members to establish their individual responsibility.

"Sire! Your Majesty will thus have formed a fund of 100,000 francs, if you will be pleased to receive favorably our last and definite resolutions.

"The certainty is thus afforded to Your Majesty of reconquering one of the first thrones in the universe, and of reëstablishing Your Illustrious Dynasty!

"The success of this new levy cannot be doubted by those, who, being sincerely devoted to the august cause of Your Majesty, have, in addition, the exact local information. Indeed, in the western states the agricultural laborers are almost wholly directed to the cultivation of Indian-corn, which should be planted before the end of May, not to be injured by the early frosts of the Autumn. This bread-food when carefully worked requires no further labor; its vegetative power triumphs over the rank herbage which a strong soil produces in abundance. Thus summer and autumn are seasons of rest for the western Americans; hunting, fishing, adventurous enterprises then occupy them exclusively.

"With zeal, some address, a central point with men known and esteemed, the success of the prompt levy which engages us cannot be uncertain; and we are entitled to assure Your Majesty, that this levy has never been, throughout all our deliberations, the subject of a doubt.

"The western American is discreet, reserved, impenetrable in matters of importance; we all have the most thorough conviction, that the secret will be religiously kept, as to the real object of the enterprise, if anything of it should transpire from incidental circumstances.

"Sire! We are about to act as if Your Majesty's answer were confirmative of our last resolutions. The essential part of the enterprise, that is to say, the personal part, will be ready to act when we shall receive the answer which we humbly request of Your Majesty.

"If Your Majesty do not approve of our last resolutions, we would act upon the more confined plan formerly submitted to you.

"We conclude by a consideration which appears to us of an immense weight:—

"If Your Majesty, as worthy of reigning as you are capable of viewing a crown in its just lights, and which is so much beneath your personal virtues, do not wish to engage in anything decisive as relates to Your Majesty, may you deign not to lose sight of the import and interests of your children, and of the people who look up to you as a second father!"

"Then," the copy concludes, "follow the signatures."[10] Who the signers of the Report were, it is impossible to determine, and indeed it is not absolutely certain that the signatures were actually appended to the original of the report in the intercepted packet.

The plan as disclosed in these intercepted papers was bold enough to excite the alarm of the French minister, and as the Secretary of State wrote to the President, "the representative of a Bourbon sovereign might fairly claim to be indulged in an extraordinary degree of solicitude with regard to any project in which the Buonaparte family are concerned."[11]

The amusing nature of these remarkable documents was quite lost upon De Neuville. He at once wrote the Duc de Richelieu that he had come into possession of these important papers almost by an act of Providence. That they were genuine, he had no doubt, and they undoubtedly disclosed an awful plot on the part of the French refugees. "The plan," he wrote, "is like that of Colonel Burr, the insurrection of the West, with the real but concealed object of making

[10] Original, certified copy and official translation, MS. Archives, Department of State.

[11] Adams to Monroe, September 27, 1817, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

Joseph Bonaparte King of Mexico.[12] I have no doubt but that the President will at once take all necessary precautions to break up the scheme, for if this insurrection takes place and succeeds, there can be no doubt it will result in the separation of the Western States." De Neuville again expresses the fear that Napoleon might escape from St. Helena, and begs that strictest watch be kept upon that island, *" Où en serait-on si cet homme prodigieux arrivait au Mexique déjà conquis? "* [13]

Lakanal was known to be connected with the Tombigbee enterprise in which the exiled French officers had taken part. While Joseph Bonaparte had no active interest in the company, those nearest him were its projectors and leaders. It was probably that of the Tombigbee Company to which Lakanal refers as " the more confined plan formerly submitted " to him. From the documents themselves, it appeared that Lakanal had had personal interviews with the Count, and he was careful to add that the organization of " La Confédération Napoléonienne " had proceeded without the concurrence of his " Master." " The long and fatiguing journey " which Lakanal mentions in the " Ultimatum " is doubtless the projected one to the Tombigbee with the " Society for the Cultivation of the Vine and Olive."

The " Report " seems partly to be an account of what had already been done, and, according to Lakanal's statement, what was at first an organization without any political purpose, had taken when the report was prepared, a definite plan, " well concerted in its ensemble and judiciously calculated in all its details." This was to capture by force of arms the territory "on the frontier of Mexico towards Santa Fe," by means of a company of nine hundred, of which number a hundred and fifty had already been enrolled. Aided by citizens of the United States who were to be enlisted for the most part in the west, they were to aid the " Independent

[12] De Neuville to De Richelieu, August 31, 1817, Mémoires et Souvenirs, II, 319.
[13] Ibid., II, 321.

Troops of Mexico" to overthrow the Spanish power there, and to place Joseph Bonaparte "upon his rightful throne."[14] Finally, as if the writer feared that Joseph Bonaparte would refuse his co-operation, even after the success of the enterprise was well assured, he was told that he surely ought not "to lose sight of the import and interests of his children," surely a strange argument, when in the "Petition" the same writer had asserted that "to say, in the nineteenth century, that nations composed of a numerous, enlightened and brave population, are the patrimony of a few families, is a folly undeserving of any answer dictated by common sense."

It was admitted that only one hundred and fifty of the required nine hundred members of the "Confederation" had been enrolled, and from "Article 2," of the "Report" it was probable that they constituted the body of "Commissioners." Each "Commissioner" was to associate with him five others to make up the required number. These were to go in unaware of the real object of the enterprise, being persuaded by "small presents, benefits and by hopes founded upon future contingencies, soon to be realized"! Such being, in brief, the intent of the enterprise, it remained to be seen what active measures had been initiated to establish the "Napoleonic Confederation of America."

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[14] J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, IV, 11, September 29, 1817. Crawford told Adams that "Mr. Clay did not believe in these levies of men in the Western States by French emigrants."

CHAPTER V.

Monroe's Inquiry.

Some days after his note of September 12, De Neuville requested an audience with the President to lay before him certain facts relative to the scheme as disclosed in the intercepted documents. This new information, he said in his note asking for an interview, confirmed what he had already learned, and its import was of a character which should immediately be brought to the attention of the President.[1] As to what these new developments were there is no record, but they were sufficiently interesting to cause Monroe to begin an investigation of the whole matter.

Associated with the Tombigbee Company was, as has been seen, William Lee, to whom Jefferson had written declining to draft a constitution for the projected colony. As Lee was on intimate terms with the French officers, Monroe applied to him to ascertain in just what the "Napoleonic Confederation" really consisted. Towards the end of September, Lee reported to the Secretary of State what he had been able to learn, and after giving the substance of it orally to the President, he sent him a copy of his report dated September 27, 1817.[2] From this report it appeared that the younger Lallemand had just returned from New Orleans, and while there he had sent a French officer of talents to Mexico to sound the patriots on the scheme of bringing the French exiles to their assistance. Returning to Philadelphia, the French officer reported the Mexican patriots to be eager for aid and that two of the most opulent and influential men in

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[1] De Neuville to the Secretary of State, September 18, 1817, MS. Archives, Department of State.

[2] William Lee to Monroe, September 27, 1817; Rush to Monroe, September 23 and 30, 1817, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress; John Quincy Adams, Memoirs, IV, 11.

Mexico, Valencias and Cordovo ("if," wrote Lee, "I have their names correct"), "are ready with all their means, being proprietors of the largest mines, and having at their disposal ten thousand raw troops, who only wait for French officers to discipline them." Lee was certain that assistance was not confined to these Mexicans. He discovered that a mercantile house in Charleston, South Carolina, had offered "money and two brigs well armed. Some merchants in Philadelphia, among whom is a Mr. Curcier, some at New York, and two in Boston, Stackpole and Adams, are also connected in the enterprise." The two Lallemands and Colonel Galabert were at the head of the scheme, and Lee claimed that they had already engaged "eighty French officers and one thousand men." The elder Lallemand, he reported, intended going up the Red River with his officers and about four hundred men "there to form a *noyau* for collecting together all his forces."

Lee goes on to connect the Tombigbee Company with the Mexican scheme, and we learn why it was that so few of the allotments made to the French officers under the government grant were occupied. "They represent that though they have ample funds in Mexico for all their purposes, they are in want here of the means of putting their plans in execution. For the purpose of obtaining the means, they have been endeavoring to force upon the company formed for making a settlement on the Tombeeby, about an hundred officers as subscribers, for whole, half and quarter shares of the four townships granted by Congress to the French emigrants. These shares, when obtained, to be placed in the hands of certain merchants in Philadelphia, who are to advance them 50 or 60,000 dollars thereon, which, they calculate, will be sufficient to begin their expedition with, but in this they will be disappointed, for it appears that Mr. Villar, the President of the Tombeeby Society, having obtained some hints of their plans, communicated the same to Generals Clausel, Desnouettes, Vandamme, Grouchy, and Count Real, concerned in the association, who have taken measures to

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prevent the mass of these officers from becoming subscribers to their company, as well as to shut out the possibility of those who have heretofore subscribed, of obtaining titles to their shares in these townships, without which no transfers can be made and of course no facilities obtained.

"All the French officers of distinction except the Lallemands disapprove of this project. Gen. Vandamme censured yesterday Genl. Lallemand and Colo. Galaber in so pointed a manner, before Mr. Villar and Colo. Taillorde (who were sent here by the Tombeeby Company to confer with Mr. Crawford) that a serious quarrel like to have ensued.

"It appears certain that Joseph B. has pointedly refused all aid and assistance to this and the like schemes;—that he has been solicited in every way and all means used, to induce him to patronize these adventurers without success, on which account they are liberal in their epithets against him."

Lee gained all his information, he says, from Colonel Galabert, and having the matter well in hand, denounced the whole scheme to the elder Lallemand in person. "I laid before him in as strong terms as I am master of, a picture of the mischiefs his projects were calculated to heap upon his countrymen and their friends in the U. States;—the pain it would cause to the administration, to find him sacrificing his reputation by violating our laws and that hospitality and protection they had afforded him. He promised me not to prosecute his plan of attacking Mexico until next winter, when he was well assured by some influential members of Congress something would be done by that body in favor of the Spanish patriots, declaring that all that he had hitherto done was under that expectation and a firm belief that this Government wished well to the revolution in Spanish America, and that his brother and himself had determined not to engage in anything of this nature if disagreeable to them." Lee took the general's statement with a grain of salt, saying to Monroe, "this declaration I do not now credit." In order to ascertain the opinion of the other officers, Lee then interviewed General Vandamme, Colonel

Taillade, and Mr. Villars, who, he was assured, were not interested in the scheme. Lee stated to them that "if they would not find means to put a stop to these doings, they would all partake of the disgrace, and that all the friends of proscribed and persecuted Frenchmen would have to support the mortification of seeing them placed with this Government and people in that situation their enemies desired and were continually laboring to produce. I was happy to find they agreed with me and felt perfectly the force of my observations. Genl. Vandamme in taking leave of me this morning said that he would on his return to Philadelphia probe this affair to the bottom, that he would himself denounce it to the Government before he would suffer the last asylum offered to himself and countrymen to be endangered by the conduct of a set of boys, fools and madmen."

In January, 1818, Lee saw Galabert go into Onis's house. Adams records in his diary under date of January 23, 1818,[8] "at the office W. Lee came and told me that he had demanded of Galabert an explanation of his going into Onis's and received a very imperfect one. He had written from Philadelphia to Onis telling him that if he could be furnished with the means of coming here he could make communications which would be useful to him. Upon which he (Onis) sent him a hundred dollar bill. He had therefore come and made his communication but would not tell Lee what it was. He said he had asked of Onis a passport to Mexico which Onis had not given him but took it into consideration and told him to call again. But Galabert had received a letter from Joseph Bonaparte urging him not to enter into the wild and extravagent projects of these French fugitives and offering him the means of settling himself in Pennsylvania. Lee says that he saved Galabert's life at Bordeaux but that the intriguing ways of a Frenchman are past finding out."

Three days before this interview, Adams received another report from Lee which suggested that the plans of the

[8] John Quincy Adams, Memoirs, IV, 48.

Lallemands had been changed since he had made his former report. Lee wrote:

"It appears the Generals L'Allemand are seriously engaged in an expedition destined for some part of Spanish America.

"They are purchasing arms and ammunition in New York.

"They have agents in Louisiana and the Mississippi enlisting frenchmen and others.

"They have agents in St. Domingo Martinique & Guadeloupe engaging in the first all the whites they can find and encouraging in the two last deserters from the Royal Army which they expect to succeed in to a considerable extent from their standing & character with the french military.

"They have it is said engaged in the U States about three hundred men.

"Aury's forces it is said is to join them and I am told they have acted from the beginning with them.

"They are going to the Danish Island of St Thomas where a rendezvous is established it is said under the indulgence of the Governor of the Island who served as Colonel with Genl L'Allemand and is much attached to him.

"They calculated on about 1500 men besides officers—with this force they are to leave St Thomas for some port in the Gulf of Darien to cross the Isthmus for Panama there embark for Guayaquil & throw themselves into the mountains of Quito in the Province of Peru where there are no troops to oppose them and where they mean to make a stand. They expect to conquer that province and intend to organize it in such a manner as to afford protection to all who chuse to join their standard.

"Another expedition is talked of at the head of which is to be placed the Count of Galvez son of the Count of Galvez who was proclaimed King of Mexico in the insurrection of 1787.

"But it appears there are so many difficulties in the way of this second expedition that the chiefs have not much con-

fidence in their success in organizing it for the present—It is represented that the Count de Galvez is much beloved in Mexico & that he has only to present himself to cause a complete revolution there where his agents are busily employed.

" He is endeavouring to form a small expedition to operate under the protection of Lallemand's but that general's views of occupancy are so remote from Mexico that he does not encourage it.

" All this information comes from a person connected with the Count of Galvez and is thought to be correct for which reason it is communicated to the Secretary of State." [4]

Before leaving Philadelphia to acquaint the government with the nature of the Lakanal papers, De Neuville informed Onis, the Spanish minister, of what had been discovered, and that the plot was directed against the Mexican possessions of the King of Spain. Onis wrote immediately to the Secretary, asking that Joseph Bonaparte (whom he believed to be the promoter of the enterprise) and " the other adventurers who have taken shelter in this country," be obliged to keep themselves within the bounds prescribed by justice and the general interest of all nations." [5] The United States, he hoped, would not violate its neutrality with the powers of Europe. The excitable nature of Onis had easily been worked upon, and Adams did not consider it necessary to accede to his request so long as there was absolutely no evidence, beyond Lakanal's statement that he had had certain conversations with Bonaparte, to show that the ex-King knew aught of the scheme. There is indeed, from the very same papers of Lakanal, evidence to show that as these docu-

[4] Lee to Adams, January 20, 1818, MS. John Quincy Adams Papers. This letter is not signed but is endorsed in Adams's hand: " Lee, W. 20. Jan. 1818. Lallemand's." Cf. Schouler's History of the United States, III, 29.

[5] Onis to Adams, September 6, 1817, MS. Archives, Department of State. No answer appears to have been made to it. Adams believed that Onis was mixed up in Lallemand's scheme. Galabert's connection with Onis gave him reason for thinking so. Memoirs, IV, 48, 84, 100.

ments had been intercepted, the person to whom they were addressed was altogether unaware of the proceeding, and Lee's report showed that if Joseph Bonaparte did know of the scheme, he had denounced it so roundly as to excite the anger of the conspirators.

Adams drafted a reply to the note of De Neuville, of September 12, on the twenty-third of the same month and sent it the next day. It is not to be found in the files of the official correspondence, and it was probably afterwards withdrawn. De Neuville replied to it immediately and from this reply it appears that the Secretary's note outlined the policy of the government to be that so long as there was no evidence of any overt act on the part of the suspected conspirators other than those referred to in the intercepted papers, the government could take no steps in the matter. When any open manifestation should appear that the scheme was being put into execution, the government would see that the offenders were promptly apprehended. De Neuville desired that Lakanal be arrested for having written letters of so suspicious a character.

"I believe," De Neuville wrote, "that there could be no obstacle to a judicial inquiry, based upon documents as authentic as are those which I enclosed to you in my letter of the twelfth of this month." He maintained that on such evidence the government might cause the arrest "of that one of the conspirators, whose writings and signatures have been verified and recognized." He declared his motive for action to be the immediate interest of the United States in the subject, and hence, as he said, his aim was less to draw upon the guilty parties the just rigor of the law, than to put a stop to the whole nefarious undertaking. "It is not my place to examine the precise line which the institutions of this country draw between the intent and the overt act. But it seems to me that nothing could better establish the fact of an actual transgression and of criminal undertakings, than signed documents which leave no doubt as to the existence of this plan of an organized propaganda. . . . . with

an executive committee which acts, deliberates, appoints commissioners, and confesses already to have received from a pretended King of Spain and the Indies the necessary funds for the first expenses of the Confederation. It has been my opinion that circumstances as grave as these, and others connected with them, should be considered as the beginning of the execution of the plan, and would suffice at least to begin a judicial inquiry. I regret that this information cannot be had at present, as its probable result would be to disclose fully projects not only hostile to France but to all established governments."[6]

Adams's course was manifestly the only one. De Neuville could not prove that the Count De Survilliers had contributed to any political enterprise either in money or in encouragement. The only basis for an investigation was that given by the intercepted papers. These were only believed to be genuine, though indeed the Secretary did not conceal his belief that they had been written by the man whose signature appeared upon them. This, however, was merely a matter of opinion and could not be introduced in support of a legal inquiry. Adams advised the French minister to have the paper published, thus exposing the plan and bringing ridicule upon those supposedly connected with it. De Neuville agreed to this but hoped it would only supplement the judicial proceedings which he still desired.

The day following the reception of his note, De Neuville was called away from Washington. Before leaving, he asked for an interview with Adams to discuss the affairs under consideration. "We had a long conversation," wrote Adams in his diary, "of which, as well as of all others, it is henceforth impossible for me to keep any record. It gave me, however, some insight into his character. Mr. De Neuville's views changed so much in the course of our conference from what they had been by his letter of last evening,

[6] De Neuville to Adams, September 28, 1817, MS. Archives, Department of State.

as made it necessary to consult with Mr. Rush and to write to the President." [7]

This letter to Monroe supplies the account of the interview which Adams was unable to record in his diary. The Secretary of State received the French minister immediately upon the receipt of his note requesting an interview. "He recurred again to the idea of seizing upon the person and papers of the writer of the papers communicated by him; or, if that was impracticable, at least he urged the immediate publication of the documents, with an introductory commentary, descanting upon the wickedness and the absurdity of the conspiracy." De Neuville informed Adams that he had learned through his spies of the actual levy of men by the conspirators, and he knew, but could not disclose, the names of American citizens who had entered into the movement. "I observed," the Secretary continues, "that the fact of the levy of men, and of its motives, had been mentioned as his allegation and not as a positive fact, because this Government could not hold itself pleged to the reality of the facts nor to the authenticity of the papers." [8]

The Government could not authorize the publication of the papers as Lakanal would probably deny their authorship, and upon his denial a prosecution for libel might follow. De Neuville replied that he could not publish them on *his* authority as he had no evidence to prove the authenticity of the writings other than that based upon a comparison of the handwritings, nor would he "compromit the dignity of his own government by entering into a controversy" with Lakanal in the public prints. Adams advised the publication to be made with an introductory note stating that the papers had been transmitted by him to the Government, and that although they appeared to be genuine, the ideas they contained were so wicked and ridiculous that they might yet prove spurious. De Neuville agreed to Adams's

[7] Adams's Memoirs, IV, 9.

[8] Adams to Monroe, September 27, 1817; same to the same, October 8, 1817, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

suggestion, provided that the originals of the papers were deposited with some public officer for the free inspection of any one interested. The Secretary considered it advisable to refer this latter wish to the President and that the publication of the documents be suspended until his opinions could be learned. De Neuville consented to the delay, as he said the danger of the immediate success of the conspiracy was lessened, because he had "by his frigates and by other measures that he had taken, given them the alarm and put a check upon their progress."

Adams was of the opinion that the conspiracy had some foundation in fact, for he added in his letter to the President, "I think it necessary to suggest to you, that indications are coming in from various quarters, that projects are in agitation among some of the emigrants from Europe, to which it will be necessary for the Government to put a stop as soon as possible." The chief source of his information on the subject, it may be surmised, was William Lee, whose report to the President bears the same date as the Secretary's letter.

The President agreed that the originals of the papers be deposited for public inspection with some officer to be designated, and advised that Adams draft an editorial note to preface the publication of the documents, as the Secretary had suggested to De Neuville in their interview. Monroe outlined the plan of the article and October 3, Adams notified the President that the publication of the papers with his article would occur in a few days. The next day the draft of the editorial article was sent to the President who was then at Albemarle. In the note enclosing the draft the Secretary asked the President to name the officer with whom the documents were to be deposited, and suggested the French Consul at Philadelphia as a proper person.[9] The prefatory article which Adams prepared was as follows:

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[9] Adams to Monroe, October 21, 1817, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

"The following documents cannot fail to attract the public attention. They consist of a letter from the French Minister to the Secretary of State and of his answer, with the translation of copies, transmitted to Mr. De Neuville with his letter, of several very extraordinary papers. Of their authenticity we express no opinion. The originals, apparently in the handwriting of the individual whose name is subscribed to the principal of them, are in the possession of the French Minister, and will be deposited in the hands of (————) for the inspection of any person who may be desirous of verifying them. The projects which they disclosed are of a nature to excite in no common degree the merriment as well as the indignation of our readers. That foreigners, scarcely landed on our shores, should imagine the possibility of enlisting large numbers of the hardy republicans of our Western States and Territories in the ultra-quixotism of invading a territory bordering upon their country, for the purpose of proclaiming a phantom King of Spain and the Indies, is a perversity of delirium, the turpitude of which is almost lost in its absurdity. If it be true that attempts are making to engage citizens of the states in projects like that which appears to be the ostensible object held out as the purpose of this Confederacy, it will be sufficient to warn them that the ostensible object itself is not less contrary to the laws than the supposed real object is to all their habits and feelings; nor may it be unreasonable to remind the foreigners who are now enjoying the hospitality which our country ever delights to extend to the unfortunate, that the least return which that country has a right to expect from them, is an inviolable respect for her laws." [10]

Monroe, after consulting with Rush and perhaps others of his cabinet, withheld his approval of Adams's article, and referred the matter to his Cabinet for discussion at one of its

[10] This prefatory "editorial article" was enclosed in Adams's letter to Monroe of October 4, 1817. In Bulletin No. 2 of the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, it is erroneously calendared as a letter from De Neuville to Adams.

regular meetings.[11] The question was probably raised in the course of that meeting as to what right the French Minister had in addressing an official note to the Government of the United States when it was evident that France had no cause of complaint on account of the Government's conduct toward it; and that, at any rate, the matter concerned Spain rather than France. The Secretary of State was decidedly of the opinion that De Neuville had not exceeded his proper functions in his action, as he claimed his conduct proceeded from motives of friendship towards our Government, considering the United States to be more deeply interested in putting a stop to any such enterprise than France. Adams admitted feeling a delicacy in causing the publication of the papers on account of its probable bearing upon the situation and personal condition of Joseph Bonaparte. "I see nothing in the papers," he wrote to Monroe, October 8, "though Mr. De Neuville thinks he does, that tends to prove *his* being accessory to any part of the project, and it seems hardly equitable that *he* should be made responsible before the public for any schemes by which madmen or desperadoes use his name without his knowledge or consent." The allied governments of Europe continued to refuse Lucien Bonaparte passports to enable him to go to America, and Adams felt a slight suspicion that the whole scheme might have been concocted for the very purpose of creating an alarm against the Bonapartes. He was unwilling, however, to extend this suspicion to De Neuville, but, he maintained, "if the papers purporting to be signed by Lakanal are genuine, the question still remains, whose cause they were intended to serve, and by what real motive they were dictated?"[12] The publication of the documents might serve to elucidate the whole matter.

As De Neuville had agreed that, as far as the interests of

[11] Monroe's Memoranda, October, 1817; Hamilton's "Writings of James Monroe," VI, 32.

[12] Adams to Monroe, October 8, 1817, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

France were concerned, there was no immediate necessity of publication, justice to the probably innocent cause of the whole affair demanded that he be not drawn into it unless the active zeal of his partisans should make such a course necessary. Since Lee had made his report there had been no new developments in the affair. The Tombigbee Company was preparing to enter upon its grant, and there was no doubt that many of its members considered it a serious undertaking, whatever designs the more prominent ones might have. General Lallemand came to Washington as the president of the Company and asked for an introduction to the Secretary of State. Adams refused it. Lallemand then went to the Department, introduced himself, and was granted an interview. On presenting himself he denied having any connection with any project contrary to the laws of the United States. Though possessed with an ardent love of liberty and a warm sympathy for the South Americans, he had persistently refused, he told Adams, to join MacGregor's Florida expedition, and other such enterprises, in which he had been invited to take part.[13] As to his connection with Napoleon, he declared that he had never been the partisan of any man, but of his country. If he was an object of suspicion to the Government of the United States, he would go elsewhere, for he was determined to preserve his personal independence.

Adams informed him that he need have no fear of being an object of the slightest uneasiness to the Government, but that information had been coming from various quarters of a scheme for putting Joseph Bonaparte at the head of the movement in aid of the Mexican insurgents. Adams then told Lallemand that his name had been connected with this affair, so plainly contrary to the laws of the United

[13] Lallemand's letter to Gregor MacGregor, dated "Falls of the Schuylkill, July 5, 1817," declining an invitation from MacGregor to join his Florida expedition, together with a letter from the brothers Lallemand, written from Philadelphia, October 3, 1817, to William Lee in reference thereto. Both letters are among the John Quincy Adams papers.

States. There was a feeling of uneasiness, the Secretary said, on account of the decisive action which must be taken by the Government if the French exiles so abused the hospitality of this country. Lallemand admitted being aware of the fears of the French and Spanish ministers, but, he declared, they were caused by the projected settlement of the exiles on the Tombigbee. He had heard of some pretended letters from Lakanal to Joseph Bonaparte, but the Count de Survilliers had refused to receive them. His refusal, Lallemand said, was the cause of their being intercepted. He denied knowing Lakanal, "had never seen him, knew nothing, whether he had written the letters, whether they were forgeries or what they were. But it would be hard if the Count Survilliers should be held responsible for letters written to him, which he had refused to receive." The Secretary makes no commentary in his diary on the truth of Lallemand's statements, but he was influenced enough by the interview again to discuss the matter with the President.[14]

The next day after the interview, De Neuville was informed that the President had deemed it proper to suspend the publication of the documents.[15] De Neuville was absent from the capital at the time but on his return Adams reviewed the whole affair with him and explained that no levies of men had taken place. He thereupon withdrew his note of September 24, in answer to De Neuville's of the 12th. In its place Adams wrote, December 5, that "whatever absurd projects may have been in the contemplation of one or more individuals, nothing is to be dreaded from them to the peace of the United States and the due observance of the laws."[16]

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[14] Adams's Memoirs, IV, 18-20, November 10, 1817: "General Lallemand and Mr. Villars have been chosen directors of the French Tombigbee settlement, and now Lallemand, who is outlawed, and under sentence of death in France, has applied to be presented to the President."

[15] Adams to De Neuville, November 10, 1817, MS. Archives, Department of State.

[16] Same to the same, December 5, 1817, MS. Archives, Department of State.

Replying to this note, De Neuville wrote, "I will inform my court, Monsieur, of the motives which determined the President to suspend the publication of the documents enclosed in my letter of September 12 last. This publication becomes after all very indifferent, if, after the measures taken, it ceases to be a necessary means of thwarting the scheme. . . . . I will not close without fulfilling a duty which the dignity of both our governments and a feeling of delicacy, which you will appreciate, impose upon me. In my preceding letters relative to this matter, I have mentioned the verification of the signatures and of the handwriting." If it appeared impossible to give this verification a legal character, the authenticity of the documents could never be called in question, and on that account, as he wrote the Secretary, he placed in his hands, "or in the archives of the Federal Government, the originals of the two principal papers (the Ultimatum and the Report) mentioned in my letter of September 12. . . . . This frank diplomacy will doubtless appear to you, Monsieur, as it does to me, the simplest and safest way, between two governments whose interests, when well calculated, can never be disunited."[17] The "petition" was enclosed with the other documents, and the whole bound up among the archives of the Department of State. The delivery of the originals showed that De Neuville considered the incident as closed. Monroe, however, still had some doubts of the intentions of the Lallemands and the other French officers at the head of the Tombigbee Company.

Nicholas Biddle, one of Monroe's closest friends, was in Washington in January, 1818,[18] and the President asked him to keep an eye upon the movements of the Lallemands when he returned to Philadelphia. It had been rumored that the brothers had been employed by Onis to aid the Royalist cause in Mexico and South America. Charles Lallemand

[17] De Neuville to Adams, December 13, 1817, MS. Archives, Department of State.
[18] Adams's Memoirs, IV, 36.

had told John Quincy Adams in their interview some months before, that overtures had been made him to join the Royalist forces, but that he had laughed in the face of the officer who had made him the offer.[19] Biddle wrote Monroe February 7, 1818, that he did not believe the Lallemands were in the employ of the Spanish Minister, but that while Onis knew their plans, they had been betrayed to him.[20]

Some time afterwards Biddle wrote to the President, "You recollect our conversation about the Lallemands and the speculations as to their designs. From what I can learn, the two brothers sailed from New York with two or three officers, forming a staff, for Mobile or New Orleans. About the same time, a vessel left Philadelphia with nearly one hundred and fifty persons, chiefly Frenchmen, who had been disciplined and prepared by the Lallemands and were to join them. It was said that other vessels from other ports would also unite with them at some point, most probably in the Gulf of Mexico. The funds for the expedition were raised almost entirely by the sale of the lands given to the officers and men in Alibama; which were sold at $1 or $1.50 per acre chiefly to French people here. This fact is very decisive as to their not going to cultivate vines, and it is equally certain that they are destined against some of the possessions of Spain in South America.

"The Spanish minister, it is thought, might have induced the abandonment of the expedition by paying $12,000, to repay the expenses of it incurred before sailing. He would not however bid so high. Instead of buying off the party, he bought only the secret of their destination. This has, I presume, been conveyed long since to the local authorities in South America, so that the scheme will probably end in the ruin of these people, unless they are warned by the fate of Mina, and abandon their project."[21]

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[19] Ibid., IV, 19.

[20] Biddle to Monroe, February 25, 1818, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

[21] Same to the same, March 5, 1818, MS. Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

Several points brought out by this letter tended to confirm the President's fears that the conspiracy as outlined in the Lakanal documents had not been abandoned. Lakanal had said that there was already enrolled a company of one hundred and fifty, the body of "Commissioners" who were already acquainted with the designs of the ringleaders. Lee reported that many members of the company intended selling out their interests in the projected settlement in order to raise money in aid of the Mexican venture. Biddle ascertained that this had been done and that the officers among the French emigrants were to proceed against some of the possessions of Spain. Monroe wrote to Biddle on the receipt of his account of the plans of the Lallemands, suggesting that what appeared to be an expedition against the Spanish Colonies, might in reality be one undertaken at the instance of Onis, to be directed against the United States. What the President suspected as an enterprise against the United States cannot be determined, for the letter is not among the Monroe papers in the State Department at Washington. Monroe may have feared a recurrence of the Amelia Island and Galveston episodes within the territory, the cession of which to the United States from Spain was then under discussion.

Replying to Monroe's letter, Biddle wrote, March 5, that he was certain the Lallemands had undertaken nothing under the direction of Onis, though there had been some intriguing between them and the Spanish Minister. Biddle thought the Lallemands were at that time somewhere in the Gulf of Mexico, possibly in the West Indies, waiting "to hear from Mr. Onis whether he will even yet give them money to engage their services for the Royalists, or go on in favor of the Patriots. This conjecture which I have some reason to believe, I mention for yourself particularly and exclusively." [22]

[22] Same to the same, March 5, 1818.

CHAPTER VI.

Champ d'Asile.

The month of December, 1817, was a busy time among the French exiles at Philadelphia. The settlers of the Tombigbee company collected there and sailed for Mobile Bay as previously described. Charles Lallemand was still the president of the company but he did not accompany those of his compatriots who were eager to change their military activities for those of agriculturists. Doubtless the general, for whose talents for organization Napoleon had expressed high regard, was more interested in another expedition which followed the Tombigbee colonists from Philadelphia within a few days. This second expedition was under the leadership of General Rigaud, who had chartered the schooner Huntress. A cargo was taken on board which could hardly have been of much value in a community so entirely peaceful as the one which the Tombigbee society proposed to establish. One who sailed under Rigaud reported that the contents of the schooner seemed fitted rather for a mercenary raid than for the settlement of an agricultural colony, as it comprised in addition to six field pieces, six hundred muskets, four hundred sabres and twelve thousand pounds of powder, "bought partly with the voluntary contributions of their own and partly with a donation of the king, Joseph Bonaparte."[1]

Just when General Charles Lallemand left Philadelphia

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[1] "Adventures of a French Captain at present a Planter in Texas, formerly a Refugee of Camp Asylum," by "Just Girard," translated from the French by the Lady Blanche Murphy, Cincinnati, O., Benziger Bros., n. d. While this narrative is partly fictitious and partly made up from other accounts, much of it is founded on fact. No name of Just Girard appeared on the roster of Champ d'Asile given by Hartmann et Millard, Le Texas, ou Notice Historique sur Champ d'Asile, Paris, June, 1819.

does not appear. In March, 1818, he was in New Orleans, having left a large body of his followers near by, in order to purchase supplies for his expedition.[2] Rigaud and his company in the Huntress went south from Philadelphia and passing around the Tortugas, were in the vicinity of New Orleans by the middle of January. Among the passengers were Rigaud's daughter and the wives of several of the colonists. Near the mouth of the Mississippi the schooner was approached by a vessel bearing the Spanish flag. When the Huntress was boarded by an officer from it, Rigaud learned that the visitor was an "independent corsair" belonging to Lafitte, whose headquarters had been shifted from Barataria to Galveston. There seemed to be no cause for any hostile demonstration on the part of Lafitte's captain, and after an exchange of courtesies both sailed for the coast of Texas.[3]

When Rigaud and his associates reached Galveston Lafitte not only welcomed them warmly, but assisted them to make a temporary camp upon the island. This first installment of the colonists remained at Galveston for more than a month. While they waited for their general-in chief, who was still in New Orleans purchasing supplies, the members of Rigaud's party had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with Lafitte and his pirates. One of the party characterized

[2] J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, IV, 64. De Neuville called upon Adams March 18 to talk about the expedition of Lallemand, "who he says, has arrived at New Orleans and of their associates who have landed at Galveston. He says Onis has protested to him upon his honor that he knows nothing of them or their project. I told him he might rely upon it that Onis did know something of them. He said that as they were Frenchmen and most of them might return to France if they chose, it would be equally displeasing to his Government whether their projects were against Spain or the United States." See ibid., IV, 38-4. Bagot, the British minister, also expressed to Adams his anxiety over Lallemand's expedition, fearing that a Bonaparte was connected with it, in which case "of course his Government would consider it as deserving high attention."

[3] Hartmann et Millard, Le Texas; Le Champ d'Asile au Texas, ou Notice curieuse et intéressante, par C—— D——, Paris, 1820; Le Champ d'Asile, Tableau topographique et historique du Texas (publié au profit des Refugiés) par L. F. L'H(eritier) (de l'Ain, l'un des Auteurs des Fastes de la Gloire), Paris, 1819.

Lafitte's crowd at Galveston as "freebooters gathered from among all the nations of the earth and determined to put into practice the traditions of the buccanneers of old. They gave themselves up to the most shameless debauchery and disgusting immorality and only their chief, by his extraordinary strength and indomitable resolution, had the slightest control over their wild and savage natures. Thanks to him the pirates became harmless neighbors to the exiles, with whom they often exchanged marks of political sympathy, crying amicably, 'Long live liberty.'"[4]

Early in March General Charles Lallemand arrived with the greater part of the exiles. The company under Rigaud had grown tired of the delay upon the barren sand-spit in the bay, where there was no trace of cultivation, and they hailed Lallemand's arrival with delight. "Songs of glory were sung. We drank to our fatherland, to our friends who remained there, to our own good-fortune, to the success of our enterprise and the prosperity of the colony of which we were the founders."[5]

A week after the arrival of Lallemand, the united company, numbering in all about four hundred, left Galveston for the place on the Trinity River which Lallemand had chosen as the site of the colony. It was a strangely assorted lot, this company of colonists. They were for the most part, of course, the French exiles and soldiers of fortune recruited at Philadelphia. The roster showed that Spaniards, Mexicans, Americans, and Poles joined with the French in the establishment of the colony on the Trinity. Lallemand had collected in addition to his compatriots freebooters from MacGregor's colony on Amelia Island and pirates who had served under Aury and Lafitte.

The "Pirate of the Gulf" loaned Lallemand twenty-four boats and in these, with the guns, ammunitions and supplies, the company left Galveston. No sooner had they embarked

[4] Girard, 61.
[5] Hartmann et Millard, 28.

to cross the bay than their troubles began. A violent storm scattered the boats and night fell upon the unlucky voyagers scattered over the bay. The next morning found several of the boats at the appointed rendez-vous. Others had turned back to Galveston. In one boat, five out of six colonists were drowned, among whom was Colonel Vorster. This disaster so early in the history of the colony was an unhappy augury of things to come.

For three days the company battled with storm and tide, until Lallemand and Rigaud decided to divide the party and go overland to the chosen site, about thirty miles from the Gulf up the Trinity River. Colonel Charrassin, who employed some Indian guides, was detailed to bring up the food-supplies, ordnance and ammunition.

The journey overland under Lallemand was as disastrous as the crossing of the bay, for the party was soon lost in the forest. Not enough provisions were taken along and in a few days the company was so famished that many began to hunt for edible plants and fruits in the forest through which they passed. A vegetable resembling lettuce attracted attention, and without stopping to find out what it was, a hundred ate voraciously of the unknown but attractive looking plant. "Scarcely had they eaten than the deadly nature of it was seen. It was a violent poison. A half-hour after this fatal repast, every one who had tasted it lay stretched upon the ground in awful agony. Generals Lallemand and Rigaud and Mann, the surgeon, had fortunately enough prudence not to eat the deadly herb though they were nearly overcome with hunger. No one could help the unfortunate sufferers because all the medicines had been left behind with the boats." But, as the ingenuous Hartmann says, "A good genius was sent from Heaven to drag our friends from death." An Indian suddenly appeared, and was surprised to see the men in such a state. He was shown the plant which had caused the trouble; "he raised his eyes and hands to Heaven, gave a sorrowful cry, disappeared suddenly and then reappeared with some herbs which he had gathered." A

strong decoction of the Indian's antidote quickly revived the company, and with blessings upon their benefactor the column moved on to the Trinity.[6]

On the sixth day after leaving the boats, Lallemand and his followers reached the site of the chosen camp. It was on the bank of the Trinity at the edge of "an immense uninhabited plain, several leagues in extent and surrounded by a belt of woods down to the river. A fruitful soil, an abundance of tropical plants and flowers, a river as wide as the Seine, but full of alligators, a sky as pure and a climate as temperate as that of Naples,—such were the advantages of the place we had chosen and which is now christened Champ d'Asile."[7]

Having had provisions but for two days and after the deadly experience of foraging in the wilds of Texas, the colonists arrived half-famished and worn out. The flotilla with the provisions preceded the land party and was waiting for the general-in-chief to give directions for the establishment of the colony.

The first business after the colonists had been divided into companies was to plan the fortifications, in which to place the pieces of artillery which had been brought up the river with great trouble. "Every one worked with a will," Hartmann says, "the generals with the rest. The hours of work were from four to seven mornings and evenings; between these hours of work one labored on his own habitation or else cultivated his garden. The forts were raised as if by magic in a very short space of time. They were of an amazing solidity. All the principles of art were observed and the fortifications of the celebrated Vauban could have been no better."[8]

The fortifications and block houses completed, the colonists began to clear small plots of ground for garden purposes. Hartmann notices but two agricultural experiments. The

[6] Ibid., 33.
[7] Girard, 62.
[8] Hartmann et Millard, 41.

melon vines grew enormously and tobacco, he felt sure, would have succeeded had the colonists remained long enough for it to come to maturity.

"The greatest harmony and order prevailed in the colony," again records Hartmann; "we followed the civil and military laws of France." Another member of the colony asserted that nothing was allowed to become a law until every one had an opportunity to deliberate and to express his views upon it. The plans which Lallemand had developed were set forth in his manifesto which is dated "Champ d'Asile, Texas, May 11th, 1818." This document is in spirit not unlike the "Ultimatum" of Lakanal.

"Gathered together by a series of similar misfortunes," the manifesto proceeds, "which at first drove us from our homes and then scattered us abroad in various lands, we have now resolved to seek an asylum where we can remember our misfortunes in order to profit by them. We see before us a vast extent of territory, at present uninhabited by civilized mankind and the extreme limits of which are in the possession of Indian tribes, who, caring for nothing but the chase, leave these broad acres uncultivated. Strong in adversity, we claim the first right given by God to man, that of settling in this country, clearing it and using the produce which nature never refuses to the patient laborer.

"We attack no one and harbor no warlike intentions. We ask peace and friendship from all those who surround us and we shall be grateful for the slightest token of their goodwill. We shall respect the laws, religion, and customs of our civilized neighbors. We shall equally respect the independence and customs of the Indian tribes, whom we engage not to molest in their hunts or in any other exercise peculiar to them. We shall establish neighborly relations with all such as shall approach us and we hope to meet them in trade. Our behavior will be peaceful, active, and industrious. We shall do our utmost to make ourselves useful and to render good for good.

"But if it shall appear that our settlement is not respected

and if persecution follows us even in the wilds in which we have taken refuge, no reasonable man will then find fault with us for resisting. We shall be ready to devote ourselves to the defense of our settlement. Our resolve is taken beforehand. We are armed, as the necessity of our position requires us to be, and as men in similar situations have always been. The land we have come to reclaim will either witness our success or our death. We wish to live here honorably and in freedom, or to find a grave which the justice of man will hereafter decree to be that of heroes. We have the right, however, to expect a more happy result and our first care will be to deserve general approbation by laying down the principles by which we mean to live.

"We shall call the new settlement 'Champ d'Asile.' This name, while it will remind us of our misfortunes, will also express the necessity which we have of providing for the future, of establishing new homes, in a word, of creating a new Fatherland. The colony, which will be purely agricultural and commercial in principle, will be military solely for its own protection. It will be divided into three companies each under a chief, who will keep the names of those forming his company. A general register compiled from the three partial ones will be kept at the central depot of the colony. The companies will be gathered into one place the better to avoid attacks from without and to live peacefully under the eye of authority. A code of laws will be drawn up securing personal liberty, the securing of property, the repression of injuries, and the maintenance of peace among the well-disposed, while it will frustrate the designs of the evil."[9]

The colony, with General Charles Lallemand as commander-in-chief and General Rigaud, second in command,

[9] Niles's Register, 1818. The roster of Champ d'Asile in Hartmann et Millard (pp. 51-57), included three women, one of whom was a daughter of General Rigaud. See Bertin, Joseph Bonaparte en Amérique, 235, quoting from an anonymous pamphlet published in Paris, n. d., "Le Général Antoine Rigaud, 1758-1820."

was thus divided into three companies or "cohorts." The first was commanded by Colonel Douarche, the second by Colonel Charrassin, the third by Colonel Défourni.

Lallemand's manifesto was sent to the United States and Niles printed it in full as a remarkable production. In Paris, however, it was received with great enthusiasm. La Minerve, the organ of the liberals, published Lallemand's document and wished the plan success. This journal, which as Lamartine said, was conducted by writers who had served the cause of despotism under the Empire and could not bear the thought of perishing with it, printed moving apotheoses of the soldier-laborers in America weeping over the loss of their country. "May liberty and happiness grow together in Champ d'Asile. May virtue, the constant companion of temperance and courage, preserve the colony from the strivings of ambition and the poisonous breath of tyranny." [10]

A public subscription was opened in aid of the colonists of Champ d'Asile and La Minerve made a daily report of additional subscriptions. The bank of MM. Gros-Davillier et cie., Boulevard Poissonnière, No. 15, was designated as the depositary of the fund, and the correspondents of Davillier at Charleston, South Carolina, were called upon to make distribution of the sum collected either in aid of the establishment on the Trinity or to assist the individual colonists. The subscription was kept open for nearly a year and by July the first, 1819, it amounted to a little less than one hundred thousand francs.

Several pamphlets were printed describing the plan of the colony and the situation of the adventurers, some of which passed through more than one edition. The receipts from the sales of these were to be added to the fund in the hands of Davillier. Béranger, who wrote for La Minerve, composed a song in honor of the colony, and this

[10] La Minerve, 1818, Liv. XXXV, quoted in Le Champ d'Asile, L. F. L'H., 150-158.

set to music enjoyed a good deal of popularity in the cafés. But what became of the fund no one knows. It is certain that none of it reached Lallemand while he was at Champ d'Asile, for the colony was destroyed and its members scattered long before the subscription was closed. Perhaps a small part was received by the colonists after they had returned to New Orleans, but even this is extremely doubtful. Balzac doubtless voiced the popular idea in regard to the actions of the Parisian sympathizers with Champ d'Asile when he called it a disastrous hoax.

The camp was under the severest military discipline. After the work on the forts was completed, regular military drills occupied several hours of each day. These were to the old soldiers a relaxation from the unusual toil of digging in the gardens. At night a watch was kept and the colonists gathered about the great fire and discussed their former campaigns when the grand army of Napoleon was in its glory. "Sometimes General Lallemand would join the circle and entertain the veterans gathered under his sway with some scraps of his last conversations with the Emperor. Often under the influence of the general's eager talk, his hearers would indulge in the wildest dreams and imagine the most impossible combinations. At such times the settlement of Texas seemed far enough from their thoughts. They were eager to serve under the Mexican flag and to help that country throw off the Spanish yoke, after which they could easily persuade the Mexicans to give them a fast sailor with which to storm the island of Saint Helena, carry off the Emperor in triumph, and crown him Emperor of Mexico." [11]

It remained for a Bonaparte emperor of France to erect an empire in Mexico, long after these dreamers in Texas were all in their graves, an empire built upon ideas which were as hopeless as were the vagaries of the exiled adherents of the greater Napoleon.

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[11] Girard, 72.

While the colonists were building their fortifications on the banks of the Trinity and perfecting the organization of their cohorts, one of the members thus reported to a compatriot who had returned to France:[12]

"Champ d'Asile, July 12, 1818.

". . . . . You have doubtless, my dear Colonel, put aside the plans which we formed during those evenings which we passed together at Burlington before a 'declined majesty' (*auprès d'une majesté déchue*), those plans which were laughed at by Clausel and Lefebvre-Desnouëttes as well as by Doctor Thornton, the chief of the Patent Office at Washington, that old independent who was always entertaining us with a fury of waging war and a mania for making constitutions for all the insurgents on earth.[13] Well, that project which the ex-king himself regarded as chimerical we have just put into execution.

"The new colony has been founded and the members of it assembled at Galveston. I have not the honor of being one of the founders, so far as title goes; I gave my place to Rigaud who knew better than I about the resources of the country and was therefore more desirable. We have been under the greatest obligations to M. de Villeray, governor of Louisiana and to Major Ripley, the commander of the troops. They have given us many proofs of their good-will, M. de Villeray especially. He took poor Humbert home with him, for Humbert was at New Orleans in a most

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[12] Le Champ d'Asile, L. F. L'H., 195.

[13] Dr. Wm. Thornton was one of the architects of the Capitol and superintendent of the Patent Office from 1802 until his death in 1827. He was an ardent sympathizer with the Spanish-American insurgents and his enthusiasm over MacGregor's plan for seizing the Floridas put him into disfavor with Monroe. J. Q. Adams, Memoirs, IV, 53-55. Thornton had written articles in the newspapers (National Intelligencer, Jan. 7, 1818, signed, "A Columbian"), and had talked with Rush and Bagot, the British minister, in favor of MacGregor's schemes. Adams told Monroe that Thornton desired a personal interview in order to set himself straight. "The President said he would not see him, nor have any conversation with him upon anything unless it were patents and very little upon them." The papers of Dr. Thornton have recently been acquired by the Library of Congress.

miserable state. . . . . The two brothers Lafitte, those sailors who avow such an implacable hatred of England, have given us marks of the most touching interest. They are the ones who, with the privateer, Piré de Nantes and Captain Leri[14] (who has shown himself so formidable of late to the Spanish), have agreed to bring out at their own expense the Frenchmen whom G. . . is to recruit for the colony. They have brought us recently three hundred San Domingo colonists who, in order to join us, have left Charleston where they have been for the past twenty years. . . . We have the merchant Labatut (with whom you and Lefebvre-Desnouëttes lodged) and M. T. . . . . r to thank for the name "Champ d'Asile" for our colony on the banks of the Trinity. General H. . . . . ot,[15] who once dreamed of being one of us, advised that our organization should have a more pretentious name, but his opinion did not prevail. We thought it best to be modest.". . . .

The words of Lallemand's manifesto, that the colonists would succeed or die in the attempt, were brave enough, but events soon proved that even this intrepid general considered discretion to be the better part of valor.

"We ought to have believed," said the confiding Hartmann, "that being at peace with the aborigines of the vicinity, we should have nothing to fear from Europeans, who like ourselves and without any better title to the soil dwelt in those countries. But what was our error! We soon learned that the Spanish garrisons at San Antonio and at La Bahia, aided by several Indian tribes, allies of the Spanish, were marching against us with the intention of attacking us, or of forcing us to evacuate Champ d'Asile, Galveston, and the province of Texas. Although we were few in numbers we were used to battle and to count our enemies after we had overcome them. Our first resolution was to await the Spaniards with a firm stand and to punish them for their rashness. But reflection silenced the first

[14] L'Aury?
[15] Humbert? or Hulot?

impulse of courage and resolution. Our general told us that our provisions were running low, that after having defeated the company which was advancing, others would come who would invest the camp and force us to surrender or to die of hunger. The wise and prudent course was to evacuate Champ d'Asile and to retreat to Galveston, the only place where we could easily procure food."[16]

Another one of the colonists said that Lallemand was informed of the hostile intentions of the Spanish by some friendly Indians. "The report was circulated about the camp that the Spanish detachment consisted of twelve hundred cavalry and several pieces of ordnance. It was rapidly nearing us. We had only two hundred men capable of bearing arms, the rest (one half of the whole number which had assembled at Galveston) were sick or disabled. Notwithstanding this disparity of numbers we determined to repulse the foe, to fight them gallantly or die like Frenchmen, as General Lallemand pithily expressed it."[17] The leader of this Spanish invading army, the size of which appeared greater the farther it remained from the French, was doubtless aware of that excellent rule of strategy which is that the enemy is as much scared as its opponent. He encamped his troops a goodly distance from Champ d'Asile and there remained. "The Spanish general," Girard continues, "whether prevented by secret orders from taking the initiative or determined to draw a cordon round us, merely encamped his troops within three days march of our camp and waited until disease and discouragement should undermine our not very formidable body. This manoeuvre could not but be successful in the long run and the Spanish general soon reaped its consequences. Meanwhile no help came from Europe or the United States and we could not fight an enemy that seemed determined not to attack. We were obliged to beat a retreat, which we accomplished in good order, experiencing no molestation at the hands of the Spanish or remon-

[16] Hartmann et Millard, 72.
[17] Girard, 84.

strances from the Indians, who with supreme indifference witnessed the departure of their great chief, General Lallemand. All of us coincided in the advice of our general, who had given us so many evidences of his wisdom and prudence. We carried our provisions, ammunition and baggage on board the boats which lay at anchor in the Trinity. Then we bade adieu to our dwellings, to Champ d'Asile, which we were forced to leave even before we had time to establish our penates in it. We raised our anchors and the currents of the Trinity soon brought us to Galveston Bay. Our retreat was made in the finest order, without confusion, without accident, save only the death by drowning of a single negro."[18]

[18] Hartmann et Millard, 74.

CHAPTER VII.

Conclusion.

From the position of Champ d'Asile, situated in Texas, which was claimed both by Spain and the United States until the treaty of 1819, it aroused the suspicions of the officials of both countries. Upon setting out on his expedition, Lallemand had printed an address which he claimed to have sent to Ferdinand VII, king of Spain. In this he stated that he and his followers desired to settle in the Spanish province of Texas, that they had no hostile intentions against Spain, that they would obey the laws and give no cause for offense.

"It is the intention of the French refugees in America to establish themselves in the province of Texas," he said. "As official proclamations have invited colonists of every class and country to settle in the Spanish-American provinces, His Catholic Majesty will, no doubt, view with pleasure the formation of a colony in a land, which, while now a desert, only awaits industrious colonists to become one of the most beautiful and fertile countries of the earth. The members composing this colony are altogether disposed to recognize the Spanish Government, to be loyal to it, to help bear its burdens and to pay taxes proportionately to its revenues. They ask, however, that they may be governed by their own laws, not obeying the Spanish governor, but creating their own military system. If the Court of Spain acquiesces in their demands, it can count upon their services and their fidelity. But if not, they will make use of the law which nature gives to every one, that of cultivating the wilderness. This right no one can dispute. Their pretensions in this matter are as well-founded as were those of Europeans at the time of the conquest. While the con-

querors came but to possess themselves of a free land by force, the French come only to cultivate the wilderness. They are, therefore, determined, whatever may happen, to establish themselves in Texas."[1]

It is extremely doubtful, however, if this impertinent document was ever sent. There is no evidence that the Spanish minister at Washington knew anything of it. Perhaps Lallemand's intention in publishing the paper was to free himself from the suspicion that he was organizing an expedition, military in character, which appeared to have an invasion of Texas as its object.

Those who were trying to arouse public sentiment in Paris in aid of the subscription for Champ d'Asile found no difficulty in manufacturing any statements thought to be necessary for the furtherance of the plan. While they admitted that the possession of Texas was in dispute between the United States and Spain, they did not hesitate to praise the United States for its generous actions in behalf of the French refugees, not only in granting them lands on the Tombigbee but also in guaranteeing the stability of the colony of the Trinity.

" The Congress of the United States," the Parisians were told, " has not only encouraged the formation of the new colony, but has given it an unequivocal proof of its good-will so as to bear witness to the entirely honorable motives which led the French officers to dispose of the lands granted them on the Mobile. It has hastened to make a formal declaration and has passed an act of formal renunciation in their favor. By this act the republic, exercising its right of ownership, has by deed of gift made over in perpetuity to the French refugees the entire territory of Texas. The integrity and inviolability of the territory will be under the protection of the military forces of the United States, which will recognize and adopt the colonists as allies and give them assistance in case of attack. But the republic of the United States

[1] Le Champ d'Asile, L. F. L'H., 18.

does not limit itself by the declaration called forth by the silence of the cabinet of Madrid; it has permitted our compatriots to give themselves laws, to govern themselves, to elect their own officials, to choose their own flag, and to form themselves into a state and nation. In order to make them the more independent, the United States merely separated the colonists from its own government much as it had previously separated itself from its metropolis. It has merely reserved the right to protect and to defend the colony."[2]

"The silence of the Court at Madrid" was but a part of the imaginative exercise of the editors of La Minerve. The condition of affairs in Spain after the invasion by Napoleon's army led the United States to refuse to recognize any Spanish government as one *de facto*. In 1809 the Supreme Central Junta, acting in the name of the deposed Ferdinand VII, sent Don Luis de Onis as minister to the United States. He was not received because his commission was issued by a mere provisional government.[3] While the crown of Spain was in dispute, therefore, the United States preferred to

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[2] Ibid., 21.

[3] Onis's opinion of the sentiment of Madison's administration toward himself and the Spanish Junta is well illustrated by his letter to the Spanish Captain-General of Caracas, Feb. 2, 1810 (American State Papers, Foreign Relations, III, 404): "The administration of this Government, having put the stamp upon the servile meanness and adulation in which they stand in relation to their oracle, Bonaparte, the day before yesterday, by their direction, Mr. Eppes, the son-in-law of the former President, Jefferson, made a proposition that a minister should be immediately sent to Joseph Bonaparte at Madrid. This was supported in the committee in which the House then was, by Mr. Cutts, who is the brother-in-law of President Madison. There were various debates, there were howlings in the tribunals, there were sarcasms against the Supreme Central Junta, and many trifling observations from one party and the other, among which mention was made of the arrival of a minister from the Supreme Junta, and of this Government's wisely having refused to receive him; and at length, a vote was taken, from which it resulted that for the present, no minister was to be sent to Joseph. . . . . If your excellency should not be informed of the mode of thinking of the present administration, this will show the little hope there is of obtaining anything favorable from it but by energy, by force and by chastisement. . . . ."

remain neutral. After the battle of Waterloo, with the Bourbons restored to the throne of Spain, the administration had no reason to delay receiving the minister from Spain. During the six years of his residence in the United States, Onis was engaged in writing voluminous letters to the Secretary of State, none of which was answered. He then appealed to the newspapers, protesting against the violations of neutrality of which he claimed the United States was guilty in permitting ships to be equipped in American ports to war against Spanish commerce.

In the spring of 1817 a Scotch adventurer, Gregor MacGregor, styling himself "Brigadier of the Armies of the United Provinces of New Granada and Venezuela and General-in-chief of the Armies of the Two Floridas, commissioned by the Supreme Directors of Mexico and South America," landed at Amelia Island with a small force and demanded the surrender of Fernandina. Frightened more by MacGregor's pretensions than by his show of force, the Spanish commandant capitulated, turning over all his arms and ammunition. MacGregor then planned an expedition against Saint Augustine and left Amelia Island for Nassau to procure reinforcements and supplies.[4]

While MacGregor was outfitting at Baltimore for his raid on Amelia Island, another adventurer, this time a Frenchman named Louis Aury, had set up the revolutionary flag of Mexico at Galveston. Aury, who had escaped from Carthagena when the revolutionists surrendered to the Spanish fleet, went first to Port-au-Prince. Denied shelter there he gathered an ill-assorted company of Frenchmen, Americans, Mexicans, mulattoes, and remnants of the old Baratarian pirate-crew. With these he established a so-

[4] MacMaster's History, IV, 434; Annals of Congress, volume 32, page 1814; Adams's Memoirs, IV, *passim*, MS. Archives, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Department of State, including blank letters of marque issued by MacGregor. For an account of a later adventure of MacGregor, see "An Account of the late Expedition against the Isthmus of Darien, under the command of Sir Gregor MacGregor. . . . ," by W. D. Weatherhead, London, 1821.

called government at Galveston, raised the flag of Mexico and, styling himself commodore of the Mexican Republic, proceeded to issue commissions to various "privateers." These scattered over the Gulf and caused much damage not only to vessels flying the Spanish flag, but to those of other nations including the United States. New Orleans, as the nearest neutral port, became a market for the rich cargoes of the vessels condemned as lawful prizes by Aury at Galveston. At one time during the summer of 1817, six of Aury's ships, all armed, congregated quite unmolested, at New Orleans. Five more, commissioned by Bolivar and flying the flag of Venezuela, lay in the same port. The collector of New Orleans asked that a naval force be sent to drive Aury and his followers from the Texan coast as there was no evidence that the revolutionary government of Mexico had any connection with the establishments, which were in fact piratical.[8]

Aury remained at Galveston but a short time and before any United States forces reached him, he had transferred his forces to Matagorda. Finding the more southerly port not to his liking, and perhaps afraid of the Spanish garrisons nearby, Aury again shifted his headquarters, this time to Amelia Island, there to join forces with MacGregor. When he arrived, the Scotch adventurer was absent in search of assistance. MacGregor's green-cross flag of "Independent Florida" was lowered. Aury raised his own standard and declared Amelia Island a part of the Republic of Mexico.

The island of Galveston had too many advantages of situation with reference to New Orleans on the one side and the Spanish possessions on the other to allow it to remain long unoccupied. As a center from which slaves might be

[8] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV, 183-202, 450, 463, 478; Annals of Congress, volume 32, pages 1523, 1785-1814, 1898-1943; MacMaster, IV, 435; Adams's Memoirs, IV, *passim*. Aury, or L'Aury, was originally a French sailmaker, then a sailor, and lived until 1813 in San Domingo, when he joined the revolutionists of New Granada as a lieutenant in their navy. Adams's Memoirs, IV, 75.

smuggled across to the settled portions of Louisiana, its value was undoubted. Within a few weeks after Aury had evacuated the island, Lafitte, the old pirate of Barataria, who had gained a pardon for his previous misdeeds by his loyalty during the recent war, was in possession with his fleet of vessels euphemistically styled "independent corsairs." It was indeed but a re-establishment of the Barataria band, somewhat further removed from the reach of justice.

Such was the condition of affairs when Congress met in December 1817. Monroe called attention to Amelia Island and Galveston. The first was, he said, within territory which was the subject of negotiation with Spain, "as an indemnity for losses by spoliation or in exchange for territory of equal value westward of the Mississippi, a fact well known to the world." The Galveston enterprise, he said, was marked by all the objectionable features which characterized the other, and more particularly by the equipment of privateers and by smuggling. "These establishments, if ever sanctioned by any authority whatever, which is not believed, have abused their trust and forfeited all claim for consideration. A just regard for the rights and interests of the United States requires that they be suppressed and orders have accordingly been issued to that effect. The imperious considerations which produced this measure will be explained to the parties whom it may in any degree concern."[6]

The one most concerned in the matter was, of course, the Spanish minister. Upon the publication of Monroe's message Onis asked for an explanation of the attitude of the United States toward the so-called piratical establishments. So far as Monroe's message referred to Amelia Island, Onis reminded Adams that he had called attention to MacGregor's movements and had asked that he be prohibited from fitting out his expedition in the United States. In

[6] Monroe's Message; Richardson's Messages, II, 13.

reference to Galveston, it was not, nor had it ever been, a part of Louisiana. Spanish authority should accordingly be respected there. He further claimed that the Royalist troops had driven the freebooters out of Matagorda and Galveston. Neither of these places, he said, had since been attacked or infested by banditti; "moreover, if by the occupation of Galveston the United States has sustained injuries, it is notorious that Spain has suffered greater by the facilities afforded to the pirates in capturing Spanish vessels, carrying them into Galveston and there selling them to the citizens of this Union; that from this magazine of plunder they conveyed Spanish property to New Orleans and other parts of the United States in American vessels, as is well known to you, Sir, and to all the world."[7]

Amelia Island ceased to be a matter of dispute, for when, towards the end of December, 1817, Commodore Henley in the ship John Adams arrived off Fernandina and demanded possession, Aury made no opposition. While surprised at such aggressive measures towards a nation like Mexico, with which the United States was at peace, Aury declared that he had "too much respect and esteem for the people of the United States to carry matters to extremities."[8] Lafitte remained at Galveston, as has been seen, and his establishment there continued to flourish.

Onis's activities were again directed to the discussion of the boundary question. Soon after his reception as minister he had sent a note to Monroe, then secretary of state, in which he proposed an adjustment of all existing differences between the two countries, but demanding as a condition precedent to any discussion of matters in dispute the immediate withdrawal of the United States from West Florida, a part of which the United States had occupied

[7] Onis to John Quincy Adams, December 6, 1817, American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV, 450.

[8] Aury to Henley, December 22, 1817, Annals of Congress, volume 32, page 1805.

under Madison's proclamation of 1810.[9] Monroe informed Onis that the United States might in the same spirit demand the withdrawal of Spain from the territories east of the Rio Grande, to which the United States considered its right established by well-known facts and the fair interpretation of treaties. So long as it was the intention of Spain to make the title to West Florida a subject of amicable negotiation why, Monroe asked, should not such a negotiation be carried on while the United States occupied it as well as if Spain were in possession?[10] Onis's answer to this query began the almost interminable discussion of the limits of the Louisiana purchase to the south and west which was finally concluded by the execution of the treaty of 1819. During the three years of the negotiation West Florida remained under American control, while in the country east of the Rio Grande what authority any nation exercised was nominally at least, exercised by Spain.

Growing tired of a negotiation which seemed to consist only of arguments for and against the various limits claimed by the parties to the discussion, Adams offered to close the matter by proposing that Spain cede all her claims to the territory east of the Mississippi and that the Colorado should be the boundary on the west. The American claim to the Rio Grande was thus seen to be dropped as a *sine qua non*.[11] Onis declined Adams's proposition on the ground that the United States asked Spain to cede territories not only to the east but also to the west of Louisiana without any adequate compensation, but he suggested as a counter proposition that the dividing line between Louisiana and the Spanish possessions on the west be established in one of the branches of the Mississippi, either that of La Fourche or the Atchafalaya, Spain giving up West Florida. As an alternative he proposed that the *uti possidetis* of 1763 be

[9] Onis to Monroe, December 30, 1815, American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV, 422.
[10] Monroe to Onis, January 19, 1816, ibid., 424.
[11] Adams to Onis, January 16, 1818, ibid., 463.

made a basis, the line to be at the Arroyo Hondo, that is, east of the Sabine. Finally claiming to have misunderstood what river was meant by the Colorado, the Spanish minister postponed further negotiations until he had more explicit instructions from Madrid.[12]

So far, therefore, as the settlement of the boundary question was concerned, both Spain and the United States were in about the same position in which they had been prior to the rupture of diplomatic relations in 1808. The position of the United States, however, had been weakened so far as concerned the territory to the east of the Rio Grande by the offer of Adams to fix the boundary at the Colorado, as well as by the terms of Wilkinson's "Neutral Ground Treaty" of 1806. While Onis was waiting for instructions as to Adams's offer, Lallemand's company landed at Galveston and proceeded to make a settlement on the Trinity. The island of Galveston was thus within territory which both Spain and the United States claimed though neither exercised actual authority over it.

The Spanish minister did not complain to Adams of the landing of the Napoleonic refugees at Galveston. It was against the apparent violation of the recently enacted neutrality law that he protested, basing his complaint upon the same ground as he did many former protests against the arming and equipping of vessels in American ports by the Spanish-American revolutionists. The French adventurers, he said, were receiving at Galveston a considerable number of recruits and large supplies of military stores from the ports of New Orleans, Charleston, and Savannah. Seeing in Lallemand's expedition the development of the plan to put Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Mexico, Onis remonstrated to Adams against the enrollment of men to go to Galveston.

[12] Onis to Adams, January 24, 1818, ibid., 464; Wilkinson's "Neutral Ground Treaty," or, properly, armistice of 1806, placed the boundary at the Aroyo Hondo, while Spanish authority was not to extend east of the Sabine. See McCaleb's "The Aaron Burr Conspiracy," *passim.*

"Convinced, however, as I am," Onis wrote to Adams, "that nothing is more remote from the intentions of the President than to tolerate hostile expeditions within the territories of the republic directed against powers with which it is in a state of profound peace, I cannot for a moment doubt that His Excellency will take into his most serious consideration what is due the demand now made by me in the name of my sovereign, that Joseph Bonaparte, the Generals Lallemand and other Frenchmen now residing in this country, be compelled to keep themselves within the bounds prescribed by the hospitality and generosity with which they have been received, and prevented from continuing to organize expeditions for the purpose of invading the territory of His Catholic Majesty and disturbing the peace enjoyed by his subjects."[18]

Shortly after writing this note to Adams, Onis called to take leave as he was about to take up his residence for the summer at Bristol, Pennsylvania. He referred during his call to his note concerning the French settlement at Galveston. "I told him," Adams records in his diary, "that he knew more about it than we did; that we might perhaps send troops to break up the establishment and the possession of the place as being within our territory, but that he had objected to such a measure heretofore. He said he thought such measures unnecessary, and they certainly would be so now, as the Viceroy of Mexico wrote him that he had eighty thousand men under his command. Upon which I laughed heartily. 'You laugh,' said Onis, 'at my saying the Viceroy has eighty thousand men.' 'No,' said I, 'but I was thinking how easily the Viceroy with that army will dispose of a hundred and fifty Frenchmen under Lallemand.' 'But,' said Onis, 'there are two thousand of them.' 'My word for it,' said I, 'not two hundred.' 'Well,' said he, 'as for

[18] Onis to Adams, May 7, 1818, American State Papers, Foreign Relations, IV, 494.

the Viceroy's eighty thousand men, I do not vouch for them, but so, I assure you, he writes to me.' "[14]

Although Onis's note was not answered, Monroe's administration proceeded at once to interfere with the occupation of any part of Texas by the French under Lallemand.[15] Within a few weeks after Onis's note was received, Adams sent George Graham, who had been chief clerk and acting secretary of war during the last two years of Madison's administration, to Galveston for the purpose of finding out exactly what Lallemand's expedition amounted to. Adams's letter of instructions dated June 2, 1818, was as follows:

"The landing at Galveston, of a number of adventurers, understood to be chiefly Frenchmen, and partly consisting of those to whom lands had been granted on the Tombigbee, the uncertainty and obscurity in which their objects are involved, the character of the expedition, and its military array, accompanied by the disavowal of hostile intentions against any country, and by the pretense of a purpose to form a settlement merely agricultural, the mystery with which the whole transaction has been surrounded, and the false colors which it has assumed, have suggested to the President the expediency of obtaining by the means of a confidential person upon the spot such further information, as it may be useful to the public interest that he should possess, and of observing such precautions, as may be necessary to prevent an encroachment upon the rights of the United States.

"It is known that projects of a wild and extravagant character contemplating the invasion of Mexico, for the purposes of co-operation with the revolutionary party there were entertained, by some individuals among the French Refugees, thro' the greatest part of last year. Altho' the Govt. rec'd from various sources information of the projects, they had never acquired a maturity upon which it appeared probable

[14] Adams's Memoirs, IV, 100.

[15] The matter was discussed in cabinet meeting, May 13. Adams's Memoirs, IV, 97.

that the attempt would be made to carry them into execution. Their ostensible objects constantly varied; but they were all marked by features of absurdity and of desperation. In the first the name of Joseph Bonaparte was implicated, tho' without positive proof that he had personally lent himself to it; and afterwards altho' two Notes of remonstrances against them, have been rec'd at this Dept. from the Spanish Minister Onis, yet more than one indication has reached us that the expedition was ultimately concerted with him, and was executed with his consent if not with his sanction. This concert in which it can scarcely be doubted that the object of each party was to dupe the other, has however according to all probability been the immediate occasion of the occupation by these persons of Galveston.

"The President wishes you to proceed with all convenient speed, to this place; unless, as is not improbable, you should in the progress of the journey learn that they have abandoned, or been driven from it. Should they have removed to Matagorda, or any other place North of the Rio Bravo, and within the territory claimed by the Ud. Ss., you will repair thither, without however exposing yourself to be captured by any Spanish military force. When arrived, you will in a suitable manner make known to the chief or leader of the expedition, your authority from the Govt. of the U. S.; and express the surprise with which the President has seen possession thus taken without authority from the U. S. of a place within their territorial limits, and upon which no lawful settlement can be made without their sanction. You will call upon him explicitly to avow, under what national authority they profess to act, and take care that due warning be given to the whole body, that the place is within the U. S., who will suffer no permanent settlement to be made there, under any authority other than their own.

"At the same time you will endeavor to ascertain the precise and real object of the expedition; the numbers of the persons already there; the sources from which they have derived the means of defraying the expenses of their under-

taking; and those from which they expect future aid and support. You will notice especially any thing which may tend decisively to ascertain whether any part of their funds are supplied by Joseph Bonaparte, or by Mr. Onis, or by both; and whether they have had intercourse with the Vice-Roy of Mexico. Your own judgment may suggest other objects of enquiry, upon which information may be desirable, and which you will report to this Dept. as you may find convenient occasion. It is supposed your return may be expected in the course of three or four months. Your reasonable expenses, together with a compensation of five dollars a day, will be allowed, from the day of your departure to that of your return."[16]

At Galveston the American agent, or "Commissioner" as Hartmann called him,[17] met the colonists of Champ d'Asile, weakened by the unusual conditions of their wilderness camp and having little of the appearance of a formidable military expedition dangerous to the United States or to Spain. The "Napoleonic Confederation" of Lakanal, "judiciously calculated in all its details," which had so alarmed De Neuville, and the trio of military "cohorts," of which Lallemand boasted in his manifesto, turned out to be a sorry handful of weary and destitute foreigners, more to be pitied than feared. Graham had nothing to do. After a consultation with Lallemand, the two left for New Orleans. The chief of the expedition announced that his departure was for the purpose of soliciting aid in New Orleans, and he promised to bring food and provisions to his comrades, who were to wait in Galveston until he returned.

Graham was back in Washington in November, 1818, and gave Adams a verbal account of his mission. The diary records that the agent had a sort of negotiation with Lallemand and Lafitte from which it appeared that Lallemand's case was desperate. "Graham's transactions with Lafitte,

[16] Adams to Graham, June 2, 1818, MS. Archives, Department of State.

[17] Hartmann et Millard, Le Texas, 81.

as related by himself, did not tally exactly with my ideas of right and they were altogether unauthorized. He says Lafitte told him that he had commissions for his privateers from the Mexican Congress, but that they were like Aury's commissions, and he (Graham) advised him to take a commission from Buenos Ayres, and gave him a letter to De Forrest at New York, to assist him in obtaining one, and that Lafitte took his advice and immediately despatched a man to New York for that purpose. Now, I should not be surprised if we should hear more of this hereafter, and not in a very pleasant manner. But it is all of Graham's own head, and, in my opinion, not much to the credit of his wisdom. He is for taking immediate possession of Galveston and so am I; and he has persuaded the President that we have offered Spain too much in consenting to take the Sabine for the boundary at the Gulf of Mexico. He thinks we should go to the Brazos de Dios. The President wrote me a note suggesting a wish that I should send Onis as soon as possible as answer to his last letter, and, as he had rejected the western boundary offered as our ultimatum, the United States must no longer be bound by it."[18]

The departure from Galveston of Lallemand and his staff aroused the suspicion that he might be abandoning his followers and that he did not mean to return. Rigaud now assumed the command of the refugees, who still preserved an organization having a semblance of military order and discipline. While Rigaud was held in great personal esteem, the departure of Lallemand took away from the refugees their last hope. Discipline was at an end. "Every one thought only of his own personal safety and to ward off hunger."[19]

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[18] Adams's Memoirs, IV, 175. No written report upon Graham's mission can be found in the State Department archives.

[19] Hartmann et Millard, Le Texas, 82. After the death of Joseph Bonaparte in 1844, memories of the Lallemand expedition were revived. C. J. Ingersoll printed in part Adams's letter to Graham in Niles's Register for January 4, 1845, with some prefatory remarks in which he said that while Joseph Bonaparte gave money to the

From now on these colonists from Champ d'Asile led a most miserable existence. The few who had money bought provisions from the pirates at exorbitant prices. Those who had none were forced to barter their clothes and ammunition for bread. Each day their situation became more desperate, and had it not been for Lafitte, who aided them with food as he had aided Lallemand with money before that general left for New Orleans, some of the company who were absolutely destitute must have died from hunger. And now came word from the Spanish authorities that they must quit Galveston as they had done Champ d'Asile. "We refused," said Hartmann, "and told the Spanish emissary that the general-in-chief was absent and that we could not leave without his orders. When Lallemand returned we would treat with him. After that the emissary departed and we heard nothing more of the matter." [20]

The elements did what the Spanish had neglected to do. In September, 1818, a furious storm broke over the island of Galveston. A flood like that of 1900, which devastated the modern city of Galveston, engulfed the low lying island and swept all before it. After a fearful windstorm which rose suddenly in the night, the waters of the Gulf rushed in, the waves broke with fury over the sandspit and inundated the town. The camp and huts were submerged to a depth of four feet. The next morning showed the town of Galveston in ruins. Walls were tumbled down, and but six houses on the island, one of which was occupied by Lafitte, were left intact.

Hunger and thirst tortured the wretched beings for two days. Lafitte's squadron, two brigs, three schooners and a felucca, which had been riding at anchor in the bay, was scattered and lost. All the cisterns had been filled with salt water and there was no way to bring fresh water from the

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Lallemands, he refused to have anything to do with the scheme for putting him on the throne of Mexico. Bertin, Joseph Bonaparte en Amérique, 222.

[20] Hartmann et Millard, 84.

mainland. In the debris was finally found a small boat. Volunteers rowed across the bay, fresh water was procured and with what little provisions remained, the company rested and discussed plans for leaving the island.

They surely had reason for wanting to be away from Galveston and Texas. "Some wished to join the independents (Lafitte's pirates), others wanted to go to New Orleans and other cities of the United States, but France was the longed-for goal of most of us." To leave Galveston, however, was immediately necessary. To remain was to die of hunger and misery, so a large part of the refugees crossed to the mainland and proceeded to New Orleans on foot. After weeks of hardship these weary soldiers straggled into New Orleans, there at last to hear a warm welcome in their own tongue.[21]

Those who remained behind, Rigaud and his daughter among the number, again had Lafitte to thank for his assistance. Some time after the storm one of the pirate's ships brought a Spanish prize, the schooner San Antonio from Campeachy, into Galveston harbor. This schooner Lafitte placed at the disposal of the refugees. "After having put aboard all the provisions which Lafitte could spare, we sailed with a Spanish captain and ten sailors whom he had freed. Unfortunately, we were beaten about by contrary winds and our provisions were about exhausted. Not until after twenty days did we see the Balize and the mouth of the Mississippi. We ascended the river and finally joined our unhappy comrades who had preceded us to New Orleans." Lallemand had left and his associates of Champ d'Asile, most of them without money or anything but the tattered clothes upon their backs, found merciful aid at the hands of the Creoles of New Orleans. "*Bons Créoles !*" wrote Hartmann, "*les refugiés du Texas n'oublieront jamais que vous futes pour eux que des frères, plus que des amis!*"[22]

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[21] Ibid., 85-101.
[22] Ibid., 107.

From New Orleans most of the refugees finally returned to France. A few, aided by Lefebvre-Desnouëttes, may have gone to the Tombigbee, there to join the unsuccessful colony in which that general continued to take an interest. The experiment of the French agricultural society was an expensive one for him and he saw his private fortune of twenty-five thousand dollars sunk in it without any return. By the will of his former master, who died at Saint Helena while Lefebvre-Desnouëttes was still faithfully assisting in the plans of the Tombigbee company, he received a bequest of one hundred thousand francs. Upon hearing of this final mark of appreciation from the great Napoleon, the old general left the wilds of Alabama and proceeded to Europe. When off the coast of Ireland, the ship Albion in which he had sailed, foundered in a storm and sank with all its passengers.

The fortunes of the brothers Lallemand after the disaster of Champ d'Asile were very diverse. The younger married a niece of the rich Stephen Girard before the company for Champ d'Asile left Philadelphia. At the wedding were present Charles Lallemand, the Count de Survilliers, Marshall Grouchy and General Vandamme.[28] There was reason enough therefore, for Henri Lallemand not joining the expedition of which his brother was the head. The younger Lallemand was, however, in New Orleans during the year 1818, for he published at that place a treatise upon artillery which had some vogue in its day. He afterwards returned to Philadelphia and settled down at Bordentown as a neighbor of Joseph Bonaparte and died in 1823.

Charles Lallemand returned to Europe and fought with the liberals in Spain. He was taken prisoner and appears next in Belgium, where he lived for a time in great poverty. Next he is heard of as having a school in the United States. Such an occupation, it may be believed, was foreign enough to his tastes, and the Revolution of 1830 gave him the oppor-

[28] Niles's Register, XIII, 166.

tunity of changing for a more agreeable activity. He no longer had reason to fear the sentence of death which had been passed upon him in 1815. He went to Paris and carried with him a letter to Lafayette from Joseph Bonaparte, with whom he was still on friendly terms. By Napoleon's will he had been left one hundred thousand francs. Lallemand took his seat in 1832 as a member of the French Council of peers. Later he was made military commander of Corsica. Thus Lallemand, ever faithful to Napoleon's interests, at last received his reward and had the military command of the island where his great leader was born. The commander-in-chief of the company of Champ d'Asile died at Paris in 1839.

General Rigaud was also a beneficiary to the extent of a hundred thousand francs under the will of Napoleon, who called him "Martyr de la Gloire," but the old soldier died before he knew of his good fortune. He remained at New Orleans and died there in 1820.

Most of the other more distinguished French officers, who assembled at Philadelphia after Waterloo, at last returned to their native land and many of them appeared again in civil and military life, both before and after the Revolution of 1830. Before the end of the year 1817, Clausel and Grouchy had announced to Hyde de Neuville that they wished to return to France and serve the restored government. Clausel was amnestied in 1820 and seven years later was named as deputy by the liberal electors of Rethel.

Of the fate of the humbler members of Lallemand's Champ d'Asile it is less easy to speak. Some, like Hartmann and Millard, returned to France, thanks to their Creole friends in New Orleans. Others joined Lafitte and served in his "independent corsairs." Still others went south to Mexico and joined the revolutionists. The company was scattered to the four winds of heaven.

Lakanal's history of the United States was not completed. He never returned to his retreat in Kentucky, but after the dissolution of the Tombigbee company settled in New Or-

leans. He was not enrolled among the adventurers of Champ d'Asile, but returning to a more congenial occupation, became president of the College of Orleans at New Orleans. This position he retained but a short time. The University of Orleans was the first institution for higher education which had been founded since the cession of Louisiana from France. A few years after its founding, in 1805, it struggled on with but few pupils. By the time Lakanal was placed in charge, in 1824 or 1825, the original plan of a university had been abandoned and, aided by lotteries and the revenues from licensed gambling houses, it was hoped that the institution might prosper under the more restricted plan of a college. But Lakanal's appointment seems to have given great offense to the people of New Orleans, probably owing to the fact that he was, as Hyde de Neuville had said, an apostate priest. After a few months of service he gave up his position and moved to Mobile Bay. There he lived until 1837 and then returned to France. Some of his family, however, remained in New Orleans and continued to live there. After Lakanal resigned the presidency of Orleans College, the institution rapidly declined and soon ceased to exist.[24]

At Paris Lakanal was once more in an atmosphere to his liking. He resumed his position in the Institut de France and became its dean. During his last years he was engaged in the preparation of a narrative of his life in America during twenty-two years. Strangely enough, the manuscript disappeared at the time of his death in 1845, and has never been recovered. Perhaps in it was an account of his connection with the Napoleonic Confederation of 1817.

With the passage of the neutrality act of 1818, the ports of the United States ceased in large measure to be used for the fitting out of privateers against Spain. The treaty of 1819, ratified in 1821, ceding East and West Florida to the

[24] History of Higher Education in Louisiana, from Gayarré; King, New Orleans, the Place and the People, 185.

United States and leaving Texas to Spain, put an end to enterprises such as MacGregor and Aury had at Amelia Island, Lafitte at Galveston, and Lallemand on the Trinity.[25]

A few years only after Spain had been confirmed in her title to Texas, she lost it again to Mexico. Champ d'Asile as a colonial institution was forgotten. The genius of Balzac has kept the memory of it alive in connection with the character of Philippe Bridau. In prose we read of the unfortunate dupes who sought in the wilderness of Texas a chance to build again upon the shattered glory of the great Napoleon.

LE CHAMP D'ASILE.

Un chef de bannis courageux,
Implorant un lointain asile,
A des sauvages ombrageux
Disait: "L'Europe nous exile.
Heureux enfants de ces forêts,
De nos maux apprenez l'histoire;
Sauvages, nous sommes Français;
Prenez pitié de nôtre gloire.

"Elle épouvante encor les rois,
Et nous bannit des humbles chaumes
D'où, sortis pour venger nos droits,
Nous avons dompté vingt royaumes.
Nous courions conquérir la Paix
Qui fuyait devant la Victoire.
Sauvages, nous sommes Français;
Prenez pitié de nôtre gloire.

"Dans l'Inde, Albion a tremblé
Quand de nos soldats intrépides
Les chants d'allegresse ont troublé
Les vieux échos des Pyramides.
Les siècles pour tant de hauts faits
N'auront point assez de mémoire,
Sauvages, nous sommes Français;
Prenez pitié de nôtre gloire.

[25] Recognition of the South American republics followed closely after the ratification of the Florida treaty. Delay in the recognition of these republics by the United States was caused by Spain's dilatory conduct in ratifying the treaty. See Paxson, The Independence of the South American Republics.

"Un homme enfin de nos rangs,
Il dit: 'Je suis le dieu du monde.'
L'on voit soudain les rois errants
Conjurer sa foudre qui gronde,
De loin saluant son palais,
A ce dieu seul ils semblaient croire.
Sauvages, nous sommes Français;
Prenez pitié de nôtre gloire.

"Mais il tombe; et nous, vieux soldats
Qui suivions un compagnon d'armes,
Nous voguons jusqu'en vos climats,
Pleurant la patrie et ses charmes.
Qu'elle se relève à jamais
Du grand naufrage de la Loire!
Sauvages, nous sommes Français;
Prenez pitié de nôtre gloire."

Il se tait. Un sauvage alors
Répond: "Dieu calme les orages.
Guerriers! Partagez nos trésors,
Ces champs, ces fleuves, ces ombrages.
Gravons sur l'arbre de la Paix
Ces mots d'un fils de la Victoire:
Sauvages, nous sommes Français;
Prenez pitié de nôtre gloire."

Le Champ d'Asile est consacré;
Elevez-vous, cité nouvelle!
Soyez-nous un port assuré
Contre la Fortune infidèle,
Peut-être aussi des plus hauts faits
Nos fils vous racontant l'histoire,
Vous diront: Nous sommes Français;
Prenez pitié de nôtre gloire.[26]

In such wise the romantic Béranger, in his lines written in aid of the subscription, idealized the project and won it from the rugged path of history into the more alluring field of poetry. And there we may leave it.

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[26] Oeuvres de Béranger, edition of 1837, II, 16.

APPENDIX.

The Proposed Cession of Texas and the Floridas by Joseph, King of Spain and the Indies, 1811.[1]

"It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me," confessed Napoleon at Saint Helena. His determination to overthrow the Bourbons in Spain, made during the summer of 1806 while on the march to Jena, was not executed until Junot had occupied Portugal, more than a year thereafter.[2] Joseph Bonaparte was a factor in the Spanish program neither from choice nor from inclination. When he was taken from the throne of Naples for that of Spain his personal wishes were not regarded by the Emperor. All during the time from 1808 to 1813, while the imperial army was attempting to hold Spain, the Bonaparte king was a puppet. Letters from Napoleon to Joseph during this period are filled with fault-finding. Napoleon complained that Joseph was slow, indiscreet, and timid. After Vittoria, Napoleon wrote to Cambacérès that all the follies in Spain were due to the mistaken confidence shown the king, who not only did not know how to command, but did not know his own value enough to leave the military command alone.[3] Thus Joseph was made the scapegoat for the failure of a mistaken policy. The course of events elsewhere in Europe determined the history of the attempted conquest of the Peninsula. The occupation of Spain and the invasion of Russia were the result of that insane ambition which Friedland and Tilsit did much to nourish.

Joseph, taken unwillingly from Naples, seems from the first to have felt the impossibility of his position as king of

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[1] The original documents cited in this Appendix are in the custody of the Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State, Washington.

[2] Rose, Napoleon, II, 137, 139.

[3] Quoted by Rose, II, 287.

Spain. He was, he said, king only by the force of Napoleon's arms.[4] That such was his position he was made to feel more keenly when Spain was divided into military provinces under the absolute control of the Emperor, the commander of each province being virtually independent of the king. Soon after the decree of division was made, Joseph wrote to Queen Julie that "if the Emperor wishes to disgust me with Spain, I wish for nothing but to retire immediately. I am satisfied with having twice tried the experiment of being a king; I do not wish to continue it."[5] This was followed by a protest to the Emperor against the policy of diverting the Spanish revenues, especially those of Andalusia, to the support of the army. If he was to be deprived of this income, he said, he had nothing further to do but to throw up the game. No longer a free agent, his every deed spied upon, distrusted by Napoleon and his generals in Spain, Joseph was further harassed by lack of money. If the revenues of Andalusia were to be taken from him, he would then be virtually a prisoner at Madrid, which city afforded him but eight hundred thousand francs a month, while the expenses of the court were never less than four millions. Placed in such a humiliating, hopeless, and dishonorable position, he begged that he be allowed to return to France, to find in obscurity a peace of which the throne had robbed him without giving anything in exchange. "The step which I take is involuntary. I send to your majesty M. Almenara, who has been my minister of finance since the death of M. de Cabarrus, and who knows the wretched details of his own office and of those of the other ministers, so as to enable your majesty to act with full knowledge."[6]

The American legation at Paris was entrusted to Jonathan Russell in September, 1810, after the departure of General

[4] Mémoires du Roi Joseph, February 19, 1809.
[5] Ibid., April 12, 1809.
[6] Ibid., August 8, 1810. The following spring Joseph went to Paris and tendered to Napoleon his resignation of the crown. Napoleon ordered him back to Madrid. Rose, II, 194.

Armstrong, who took home with him the promise of Cadore that the Berlin and Milan decrees would be revoked, as to the United States, on the first of November following.[7] Upon that day Russell asked if the decrees had been repealed. No answer was made to the question and the matter dragged until the following summer.[8] Madison acted as if the promise to revoke was in fact a revocation. Russell was transferred to London in July, 1811, and Joel Barlow sent to Paris as minister. This appointment, which Madison hoped would save his administration, had been made some months previously, but Madison was unwilling to send a minister to France until he had more exact knowledge that the decrees had been revoked. Sérurier, the French minister at Washington, who had frequently urged Madison to send Barlow to his post, now gave what the President deemed satisfactory assurances of the revocation. Barlow arrived at Paris September 19, 1811.

While Russell was waiting for some act on the part of Napoleon which would be in line with Cadore's promise to Armstrong, the Marquis of Almenara, who had been sent by Joseph to Paris to acquaint the Emperor with the desperate state of affairs at Madrid, approached the American chargé with a plan by which the financial necessities of his master might be relieved. By the treaty of 1803 the limits of Louisiana were left undefined. The terms of the Bourbon abdication, arranged by Godoy and Napoleon, stipulated that the dominions of Spain should be kept intact. The cession of Louisiana was a sufficient precedent that good faith was not to stand in the way of pressing military or financial needs. Almenara proposed that if certain grants were made in the

[7] Cadore to Armstrong, July 15, August 5, September 7, and September 12, 1810; Armstrong to Cadore, August 20 and September 7, 1810. American State Papers, Foreign Relations, III, 386-388, 400.

[8] McMaster, III, 360-368, 406-411. The decree revoking the earlier decrees as to the United States, bearing date of April 28, 1811, was unquestionably manufactured a year later. H. Adams, History, VI, 254-263. American State Papers, Foreign Relations, III, 613-614. War with Great Britain was declared June 18, 1812.

interest of Joseph, a new treaty would be negotiated in which the limits of Louisiana would be set forth so as to include both Texas and the Floridas.[9] Russell transmitted Almenara's proposition together with the draft of a convention based thereon to Madison, who declined giving any consideration to it. Barlow had read Russell's letter upon the subject before leaving for Paris and was therefore aware of Madison's opinion of a transaction which would involve the recognition of the Bonapartist rule in Spain. Almenara's plan, amended so as to avoid any appearance of fraud, was proposed to Barlow, who thereupon wrote to Madison strongly advising him to adopt it and thereby acquire Louisiana and the Floridas. Madison again refused. Soon afterwards the war with Great Britain began, and Madison had other matters to look after.

During nearly all of the year 1812 Barlow was beguiled by Maret, Duc de Bassano, with the hope of a treaty. In March the American minister wrote to Monroe that he hoped soon to find Bassano ready to negotiate. A month later he confessed that he was again disappointed. "This is dull work," he said, "hard to begin and difficult to pursue."[10] Napoleon's invasion of Russia intervened. Borodino was fought September 7, and Moscow entered a week later. At about the time when Napoleon determined to retreat from Russia,[11] Bassano asked Barlow to come to Wilna to reopen negotiations. Barlow accepted the invitation and left Paris October 26.[12] The journey from Paris was one of three weeks' duration over roads ruined and through lands desolated by the march of the Grand Army. Barlow waited at Wilna hoping that if Napoleon retreated thither, there would be a chance of saving the treaty. By the fourth of December

[9] Madison's proclamation taking possession of West Florida was dated October 27, 1810. American State Papers, Foreign Relations, III, 397.

[10] American State Papers, Foreign Relations, III, 520.

[11] Rose, Napoleon, II, 239. Bassano to Barlow, Wilna, October 11, 1812. American State Papers, For. Rel., III, 604.

[12] Todd, Life and Letters of Joel Barlow, 270.

news came of the disaster at the Beresina and of the flight of Napoleon. It was no time for what to the Emperor was such a diplomatic trifle as a treaty with the United States. Barlow left the day before Napoleon reached Wilna and turned back towards Paris. The journey was one of frightful hardship, quite beyond the strength of a man so advanced in years. Taken ill on the road, he was compelled to halt at Zarnowitch, a small town near Cracow. The illness proved fatal and Barlow died December 24, a martyr to the Russian campaign of Napoleon.[13]

In Spain Joseph's position became more and more perilous. By the battle of Vittoria, June 22, 1813, the French cause was irretrievably lost. In December, Napoleon wrote to Joseph: "France is invaded, all Europe is in arms against France, and above all, against me. You are no longer king of Spain. I do not want Spain either to keep or to give away."[14]

The following letters, hitherto unpublished, give an account of the attempt made to give Texas and the Floridas to the United States in return for grants of land. These grants were to be sold and the proceeds used to bolster up the throne of Joseph Bonaparte in Spain. It is to be remembered in connection with these letters that Napoleon, as early as December 13, 1810, just before Russell broached the subject to Madison, expressed his willingness to see not only the Floridas belong to the United States, but also South America independent of Spain.[15] Shortly before the arrival of Barlow at Paris, Napoleon instructed the Duc de Bassano that the United States might easily acquire the Floridas on account of the poverty-stricken condition of Spain. "Though I do not take it ill that America should seize the Floridas, I can in

[13] For an account of Barlow's last days, see Todd, Life and Letters of Joel Barlow, 270-287; Henry Adams, History, VI, 245-267.

[14] Mémoires du Roi Joseph, December, 1813.

[15] Napoleon to Champagny (Cadore), December 13, 1810, Correspondance de Napoléon, XXI, 316, quoted by Henry Adams, History, V, 383.

no way interfere, since these countries do not belong to me."[16]

I. Russell to Madison.[17]

Paris 2nd January 1811.

Sir

The inclosed is a sketch of a treaty and convention which, after much conversation between the Marquis of Almanara his agents and myself, was drawn up and contains in my opinion the most favourable terms on which can be obtained an extinguishment of the title claimed by the actual king of Spain to the whole of the territory therein mentioned. The Marquis of Almanara appeared in this business to act from a conviction that this territory was beyond the reach of his master and that it was no longer in his power to maintain its dependence on the Spanish throne. Pride and perhaps poverty forbid him however to abandon it without a valuable consideration and the end of his conferences with me was evidently to ascertain what in my opinion was the *maximum* which the United States would be willing in existing circumstances to allow for it. On my part I endeavored to depreciate its value—and the title which King Joseph could give to it. From the first I adhered to two leading principles,—viz., that the right of the United States to the territory between the Perdido and the Sabine should not be called in question and that for the cession of Florida to the eastward of the Perdido an equivalent should be found in the vacant lands of the territory thus ceded and in the vacant lands of the disputed territory laying between the Sabine and the Rio Bravo. This basis being settled the quantity and location of the land to be reserved by the King of Spain formed the principal subject to be discussed. The result of this discussion will appear in the place of the convention herein inclosed.

I have reason to believe that the Marquis of Almanara proceeded in this business with the knowledge of the Emperor. In the course of it I was sorry however to perceive the agency of two men whose established character for extensive speculation might render suspicious the fairest negociation. These two men were David Parish and Daniel Parker,—the reputation of the first I believe to be unblemished but it is said the second has sometimes made those sacrifices to interest which honest men avoid. This man had the indis-

[16] Napoleon to Maret, Duc de Bassano, August 28, 1811, Correspondance de Napoléon, XXII, 448, quoted by Henry Adams, History, V, 408.

[17] MS. Madison Papers, Bureau of Rolls and Library, Department of State.

cretion to observe to me one day that he expected a handsome share in the transaction and looking at me significantly "I intend" says he "that all my friends who aid in the operation shall be provided for" I felt too well his meaning but passed coldly to another part of the subject. I endeavoured to appear to disregard it. I am however to this moment puzzled to decide whether the Marquis of Almanara originated at this time the discussion and sought these men for agents to raise funds out of the reserved lands,—or whether they originated it and brought him forward merely to aid in their purposes of speculation. To decide this however cannot be important as far as it does not affect the terms of the bargain. I satisfied myself that the twenty-five millions of acres were to be converted into money for the Spanish Government but that the seven millions were to be used as a *bonus* for Alamanara and his coadjuters in court in obtaining the ratification of the treaty and for the gentlemen above mentioned. The loan was partly also to be distributed in this way and partly to be appropriated to surveying the land. I have no doubt that *two millions* of dollars *down* would procure all the title which King Joseph can give to the Floridas and run our boundary line from the mouth of the Bravo to the mouth of the Cumberland.

It does not become me to give an opinion upon the propriety of treating with him and thereby recognizing him as King of Spain and in doing so provoke perhaps hostilities with the Regency and its allies but I have felt it my duty to lay before you either directly or indirectly all that I may learn or in which I may be concerned while I am charged with the affairs of the American legation here. In my conversations with the Marquis of Almanara I distinctly and repeatedly declared to him that I was without the shadow of authority to treat for the Floridas or any other territory and that whatever I might agree to would not even be entitled to the notice much less to the sanction of my government. On his part also he avowed that he was without authority but he said that he would take the project of the treaty and convention to Madrid and lay it before his King. He left here a few weeks since and we have already learned of his arrival at Valadolid.

I should have written on this subject by the Commodore Rogers but I feared, should she fall into the hands of the English, that the discovery of my conversation with Almanara might lead to unpleasant consequences. I do not address myself to the Secretary of State as I do [not care] to give what I have done an official character—but I communicate it to you only, knowing it to be my duty to reveal

every circumstance of my conduct and hoping, if I be guilty of any indiscretion, that I shall be judged with indulgence.

I am sir with the highest respect
Your faithful and obt servant
Jona Russell

N. B. I ought to have said to you that the Marquis of Almanara is Minister of Interior to King Joseph

II. Convention between the United States of America and the King of Spain.[18]

The President of the United States of America and his Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain in consequence of the treaty which has been this day signed between A. B. charged with the affairs of the American Legation near the Government of France on the part of the United States and by C. D. on the part of his Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain and desiring to regulate definitively every thing that has relation to that treaty have agreed to the following articles—

1st His Most Catholic Majesty the King of Spain having granted E. F. ——— his heirs and assigns seven millions of acres of land with the right to locate six millions, five hundred thousand acres thereof in any place between the River del Norte or Bravo, and the river Sabine and the remaining five hundred thousand acres thereof in any part of the Floridas east of the River Perdido saving and excepting the island of Amelia.

And his Majesty having in like manner made a further grant to the same E. F. ——— to his heirs and assigns of twenty five millions of acres of lands with the right to locate the whole thereof in any place or places between the rivers del Norte and the Sabine not to the north of 34° of north latitude, provided, that no location in virtue of either of these grants shall be made of a less quantity than five thousand acres or on lands already improved or lawfully located,—the United States promise and agree to ratify and confirm said grants and to issue their warrants within six months after the ratification of this Convention by the United States and as much sooner as possible—to the said E. F. ——— or to his assigns for the complete location thereof—each warrant to be for five thousand acres of land and for the grant of seven millions of acres to be num-

[18] Enclosed with Russell's letter to Madison of January 2, 1811, no date, MS. Madison Papers. This project is not in Russell's writing, but in a foreign hand.

bered from 1 to 5,000 and each of these warrants shall give to the holder thereof a right to the five thousand acres mentioned therein and be transferred from one holder to another by indorsement without guaranty—

2d The expense of surveying the land to be located under either of the grants aforesaid shall be borne and defrayed by the grantee or his assigns. And the return of the Surveyor shall be transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States under whose inspection a lottery shall be drawn to determine the location of each warrant and immediately thereafter the Government of the United States shall issue patents in the usual form to be applied to their correspondent numbers as determined by the lottery aforesaid.

3. The United States agree to loan to the said E. F. ——— one million of Dollars in a stock bearing an interest of *six per cent per annum* to be paid half yearly at the treasury of the United States, the said stock to be issued immediately by the United States, and to be redeemable in fifteen years thereafter, the amount of this loan and the interest thereon to be reimbursed to the United States from the first sales of any part of the tract of land which may be located under the grant of twenty five million of acres, it being distinctly understood that for the payment of this stock with the interest that may grow due thereon, in manner and form aforesaid, one half of the warrants, or the patents for which they may be exchanged, shall remain in the possession of the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States until the whole of the said payment be fully made and completed. Provided nevertheless that nothing herein contained shall be construed to render the said grantee personally liable for the payment of any part of this loan or the interest that may grow due thereon.

4 It is mutually agreed between the contracting parties that the United States shall have full right and authority to grant and locate after the expiration of two years from the issuing of the warrants above described any vacant lands in East Florida that shall not have been previously located under the grants of seven millions of acres above named and also full right and authority to grant and locate lands between the rivers del Norte and Sabine after the expiration of five years from the issuing of the warrants aforesaid which shall not have been previously located under either of the grants mentioned in this Convention. It being fully understood and agreed that nothing contained in this Convention shall be construed to impair the right of the United States to grant and locate, immediately after its ratification, any lands laying between the rivers del Norte and Sabine to the North of the 34 of north latitude.

III. Projet of a Treaty of Limits.[19]

The President &c.

Whereas &c.

Art. 1. It is settled and agreed that the line dividing the Spanish Territories in South America from the Territory of the United States, shall begin at the mouth of the Rio del Norte in the Gulph of Mexico, and proceed by right bank of said river to the mouth of the Rio Pecos in lat. 30° 8′ north as laid down in the chart of Humboldt, thence due north to the fortieth degree of north lat., thence in a straight course to the most southerly source of the Missouri, thence in a straight course to the most southerly source of the river Columbia and thence following the left bank of said river to the Pacific Ocean in 46° north latitude. 2. All the territory laying north of this line or between it and the Atlantic Ocean and bounded South by the Gulph of Mexico and the straights of Florida to be possessed and enjoyed forever in full sovereignty by the United States, with all its rights and appurtenances, whether the said territory has been before the date hereof ceded to the United States or not,—or whether it has been supposed heretofore to have been included in the limits of Louisiana and East and West Florida or not—the King of Spain hereby solemnly renouncing in favor of the United States all right and title both of domain and sovereignty to every part and parcel of said territory.

Art. 3. As rights and appurtenances of the territory above described are to be considered all the islands adjacent thereto or belonging either to Louisiana, the Floridas or any other district of said territory, as well as all public lots and squares, vacant lands and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks and other edifices which are not private property. The archives, papers and documents relative to the domain and sovereignty of said territory or any part thereof, which have not already come to the United States in execution of their treaty of the 30th April 1803 with France, shall be delivered by the officers of Spain in whose hands they remain, to any agent or agents whom the President of the United States may appoint to receive them.

Art. 4th. The United States shall have a right immediately after the ratification of this treaty to take full complete possession of every part and portion of said territory of which they are not already possessed and all the military posts now commanded by the officers of Spain within said territory shall be surrendered and delivered over to any officer or officers whom the President of the United States may authorize to receive them.

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[19] Enclosure B. in Russell's letter of January 2, 1811.

Art. 5. All grants of land made within the territory aforesaid by the Government of Spain or in its name or under colour of its authority since the treaty concluded between France and Spain at St. Ildephonso on the first of October 1800 shall and are hereby declared to be null and void, and the lands described in such grants shall belong in full property to the United States, the same as if such grants had never been made whether the districts in which such land lays was supposed to be ceded by the said treaty of St. Ildephonso or not. Save and except such grants of land only as are specified in the Convention of this date entered into by the contracting parties.

Art. 6. The inhabitants of the territory above described shall be entitled to the benefit of all the provisions contained in the 3d Article of the treaty concluded at Paris between the United States and the French Republic whether they dwell within the limits of the territory supposed to be ceded by that treaty or not.

Art. 7. The particular Convention signed this day by the contracting parties respectively having relation to certain grants of land made by Spain and excepted in the 5th article of the present treaty and also to a loan to the grantees of that land, is approved and to have its execution in the same manner as if it had been inserted in the present treaty and it shall be ratified in the same form and at the same time so that the one shall not be ratified without the other.

Art. 8. The present treaty shall be ratified and approved by his Catholic Majesty and the President of the United States and the ratifications shall be exchanged in good and due form in the space of six months from this day, or sooner if possible.

IV. Madison to Russell, July 24, 1811.[21]

Washington, July 24, 1811.

Sir—

I have rec'd your letter of Jany 2 with the sketch of a convention arranged between you and the Marquis Almanara. The purity of your views is attested by the guarded manner of your proceeding, as well as by the explanations in your letter. But it is proper you should be apprized, that such a transaction would be deemed inadmissible on different grounds, were it without the feature given to it by the individual agencies and interests so justly denounced by you.

For information on other subjects which it may be interesting to you to receive I refer you to the communications of the Secretary of State.

Accept, Sir, my respects and friendly wishes.

J. M.

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[21] MS. Madison Papers, Department of State. Endorsed by Madison: "Russell Jonathan. Copd."

V. Barlow to Madison.[22]

Paris 19 Dec 1811.

Private

Dear Sir

As an additional apology for detaining the Frigate as well as for believing that an answer somewhat satisfactory is to be given to my note of the 10th Novr. I ought perhaps to state to you more fully than I have done in my official letter what past at the diplomatic audience to which I there alluded. It was on the 1st of Decr. the anniversary of the coronation. The Court was uncommonly brilliant and the emperor very affable.

In passing around the circle, when he came to me he said with a smile *"Eh bien Monsieur vous saurez donc tenir contre les Anglais."* —alluding as I suppose to the affair of Rodgers then recently published.[23] *"Sire nous saurous faire respecter notre pavillon."* Then after finishing the circle he cut across and came back to me in a marked manner and raising his voice to be heard by hundreds he said *"Monsieur vous avez presenté une note interressante au duc de Bassano, on va y repondre incessament et d'une maniere satisfaisante*[24] *et j'éspere que la frégate restera pour cette reponse." "Sire elle ne reste que pour cela."*

In the evening there was a drawing room, in which he singled me out again and said some flattering things, but not on public affairs. As it cannot be on my own account, but on that of the Government, it is proper I should notice to you that he and all the grand dignitaries of the empire have taken pains to signalize their attentions to me in a manner they have rarely done to a foreign minister, and never to an American.

The points that I expect will be conceded are—1st a diminution of duties on our produce to take place not all at once but gradually. 2d. The right of transit thro' France into the interior of Europe for all our produce without any duties in France but what may suffice for the expences of bureaux.—3d. a revocation or modification of the system of special licences.—4th. releasing the vessels and cargoes not sold, and an arrangement for paying damages for those already disposed of.[25] This last article perhaps connected with an explanation of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, both by the Spanish and

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[22] MS. Madison Papers, Department of State.

[23] The encounter of the "President" and the "Little Belt."

[24] Barlow's note was answered December 27, but in a manner by no means satisfactory.

[25] Barlow's expectations were of course not realized. H. Adams, History, VI, 245-258.

French Governments, relative to the boundaries of Louisiana, so as to comprehend all that we desire eastward and westward and northward.—More of this probably in a private letter by the Frigate. I give no encouragement to the idea.

A war with Russia seems to be resolved upon notwithstanding the peace signed between her and Turkey. Preparations are great and probably serious on both sides.

With great respect and attachment

Yr obt St

J. Barlow.

VI. Barlow to Madison.[26]

Paris 30 Dec 1811

Private

Dear Sir

In my private letter to you of the 19th I took the liberty to intimate that I might address you by the frigate on the subject of connecting the indemnities due to our citizens with a convention of boundaries of Louisiana.

I have had many hints on this subject both from Spanish and French authority. I have always discouraged the idea by a declaration as general and vague as might be, that I am not instructed by my government, and therefore can say nothing that shall draw to any sort of consequence.

I thought it not prudent to make any specific exception to any part of the proposition, such as the right of the party ceding, the value of the proposed cession or the conditions on which it might be made. Thus reserving the power of being consistent with myself in case any circumstances should induce propositions that in your opinion ought to preclude such exceptions.

Here is a Spanish agent of rank who has formerly been minister at home and ambassador in France, and who now enjoys the confidence of both governments. He is charged with full powers by King Joseph to negotiate and conclude a convention of boundaries with the French or American authorities on terms, as he thinks, so advantageous to the U. S. that their government cannot refuse them.

In repeated conversations with this person I have collected the substance of the convention that he and the French government will probably agree to. Indeed, he would have proposed them before now had he supposed they would be accepted, or even discussed. I did not let him know that I should reduce them to writing or propose

[26] MS. Madison Papers, Department of State.

them to you in any shape. I have however put them on paper as precisely as I can methodize the ideas, and I now take the liberty to lay them before you with some observations that have occurred to me as worthy your attention.

I assume as a general principle that it now becomes more than ever important to the peace and interest of the U States that the limits of Louisiana should be fixt and acknowledged by all parties concerned. The present appears the most favorable moment to do this, for reasons which will apply more or less to each of those parties.

1st *Spain.* King Joseph is in want of money, and the sum he will get out of the six millions of dollars [acres?] the first grant mentioned in the project, is represented as a great object to him at this moment.

It cannot be long before a change will take place in his situation. He will either cease to be King of Spain by the effect of a union of that country to France; or his power as King of Spain will become more consolidated, when a million or two of dollars will be of less consequence to him; or, remaining K of S while Mexico shall be acknowledged independent, he will have no legal power to establish the limits in question.

He is now to all intents and purposes of public law the legitimate King of Spain, acknowledged by every power of Europe except England, and she is at war with him. The treaty of St. Ildefonso is well known to have been left defective as to the limits of the territory therein ceded. It requires explanation. J[o]seph, as King of Spain, is the only power that can (in concert with France) explain that treaty and define those limits. And no other power or people has a right to complain, provided their acknowledged rights are not thereby invaded.

Spain as a power, whoever is her King owes the citizens of the U S considerable indemnities for captured property. This is a certain way, a legal way and the only way in which such indemnities can be had. It will be well viewed in Spain and in the U S; and the terms thus obtained by our citizens will be so much recovered as if from the bottom of the sea: for it would be folly to expect payment in any other way. The change of dynasty in Spain since the debts were contracted would be a sufficient pretext for refusing payment, if a constant refusal for ten or fifteen years preceding that change had not already reduced the claimants to a desperate silence.

2d *France.* This being the only power with which we contracted for Louisiana it is to the emperor alone that we can look for an explanation of its limits. By the convention of 1803 we receive

that territory from France with such limits as she receives it from Spain. And the emperor in the convention of boundaries now proposed explains the former convention with the same authority with which he made it. This he offers to do now, but there is no probability that he will do it at a later period, because he will not have the same inducement. It is well known that he now has the double motive of paying his own debts to our citizens and relieving his brother Joseph from pecuniary embarrassments. Without these motives he probably would not have listened to the project now brought forward. He owes our citizens a considerable sum, probably from four to six millions of dollars. Whatever may be his means he certainly has not the intention of paying them in any other way. We know how difficult it is to draw money from his coffers at any rate for the best acknowledged debts when not so circumstanced that a refusal to pay would immediately clog his military operations. And in a case like this, when he can risk nothing but the animadversions of a few Diplomatic notes and the censure of American newspapers, he will feel such a perfect impunity in refusing to pay by any direct drain upon his treasury, that he will probably never think of it.

Indeed I am assured of this, not only from his conduct in common cases, but by the private declaration of his intentions, as I am told, in this particular case.

3d *England.* The government of England expressed in a formal manner its acquiescence in our purchase of Louisiana. And it cannot pretend that the party who had the right to cede had not the right to fix the limits of the cession.

By your message to Congress of the 5th November it seems that England is interfering with your operations in one of the Floridas. What this interference may be I know not, for I have seen no other document but that message. She probably does this on the ground that such territory was not included in the cession. But when she sees that the same powers that made the cession acknowledge that such territory was included therein, then that pretext at least is removed; and if after that she persists in meddling with this affair it must be on other grounds than those of obtaining justice for a pretended ally, and she may be opposed by other arguments.

4th *Mexico* including the provinces between that and Louisiana. These provinces have never yet formed an organized power capable of declaring a national will. It has all along been contended by us, and never contradicted by them, that our western limit was the Rio Bravo. But whether we own the country or not, the *Mexicans* certainly do not own it.

According to the received doctrines of public law and colonization the government of Spain was the only power that had the right

to form and declare the limits of provinces in that region. Spain had a right to buy and sell these provinces as well as fix their limits. Spain had before bought Louisiana. She has lately sold Louisiana and she now declares what Louisiana is.

But the provinces now in insurrection to the west of the Bravo, to say the most of their rights, have no rights beyond their own limits, neither is it the interest of Mexico to extend her boundary farther to the east. If any power or people in those territories are to be consulted it is that which I am going next to mention.

5th *The people living in the ceded lands.* We find that the people of Louisiana living on the Mississippi and in West Florida have acquiesced and rejoiced in becoming part of us and belonging to the U States. There is every reason to believe that those of East Florida and those of Texas &c. partake of the same sentiments. But these dispositions may change in a short time after they shall have formed other connections and other habits, incompatible with the union now proposed.

This is the moment of revolutionary ideas in all those colonies. It is therefore the most proper moment, to settle them down in habits and attachments that may be permanent.

It is remarkable that the whole business of Louisiana has been hitherto conducted without shedding a drop of blood. It has done honor to our government as well as to the people in question. But the limits being yet unsettled there must, at no distant day, be a a breaking up somewhere; and it would be more convenient, more safe and probably more peaceful to have it done now, before the lands are much peopled, and before local interests and habits become inforced by local power.

6th *The United States* Their object is to live in peace with all the world, and to cultivate those natural advantages which ought to secure their greatest happiness as a nation. For this purpose they should be sufficiently populous and powerful to be able to feel that they can at all times do justice, as well as command it, without any other effort than that of founding a national will. It is only in habits of justice, that those of peace can be established, and the best security for both in the case now in question is to settle those great frontier discussions before they shall appear to be great, and while all the other parties concerned are more willing or more complying than they ever can be hereafter; especially before some of them shall case to have the right, and we ourselves cease to have the power.

7th *Your administration.* Excuse me, my dear sir, if I reckon this among the parties concerned. A desire to render your administration popular is a sentiment of patriotism, and not merely of friendship and attachment to you; and the expression of this desire

is not flattery it is not a profession of love to you but to the country. You were called to administer the Government at a time when there existed a great moral struggle betwen republican principles and their opposite. The contest is of awful magnitude, and is not yet decided.

Its decision depends greatly on your success; and I have accustomed myself to regard the triumph of your administration as identified in some measure with that of our constitution.

This you may think is taking a strong hold of the subject, and I cannot but perceive a great cause of congratulation and triumph in the indemnities to so many of our citizens as are involved in the proposed arrangement; especially do I perceive it in the peaceable acquisition of so great an additional territory and fixing the limits of several thousand miles of our most contested frontier, and this cheaper than was ever expected and of much greater extent. Indeed I cannot foresee any probable time when, or principle on which, the western and northwestern boundary of that country will be settled, if not terminated now.

On the whole you are doubtless more familiar with the subject than I am, and know better, how these terms compare with what you have before offered and what you have tried to obtain. I have understood that the sum you offered was far greater, and the limits you demanded were far less. In fact you here give nothing[.] You allow the party to retain six millions of acres out of the two hundred millions he gives you beyond what you were willing before to consider as your limits.

I recollect the paper you showed me last summer containing the proposition submitted by Mr. Russell. The present one differs from that, as well as I recollect it, in a variety of respects. 1st it takes in a much greater territory than that did, even four degrees of latitude from the middle of the continent to the south sea. 2d. It indemnifies your citizens, and a very clamorous class of them, to the amount of forty two millions of Francs. 3d. It admits grants of land upon you to a less amount by twelve millions of acres; his proposal being, if I remember right, *thirty-two* millions, this *twenty* millions. 4th The state of Europe is different from what it was a year ago, and admits more readily the legality of Joseph's power. 5th the most striking difference perhaps is in the *manner* of the transaction. That had the appearance of a *new grant* in which the right of the grantor might be scrutinized; this is nothing but an explanation of an old grant; an explanation by the only power on earth, that can now explain it, and a grant that all the world knows was left unexplained, has need of explanation, and must and will lead to disputes, probably to war, if left much longer unexplained.

My duty seems to require that I should state to you one fact, at least what I believe to be a fact, that in this transaction there is no corruption or underhand dealing in contemplation. The Spanish Agent has no under agents. He assures me in the most solemn manner that King Joseph is in great distress for money for his domestic expences, and that he will really receive every dollar that can be raised out of the six millions of acres. And that the loan is to enable him to live till he can get the land surveyed and in a state to settle for his sole account.

This agent will doubtless be well paid; but farther than that I believe the negotiation proposed is just what it purports to be. Should you think proper to pursue this business under any modifications that would not greatly change the substance, I should not despair of obtaining them.

You will judge of the propriety of giving me as speedy an answer as may be, as I expect this agent will not long delay to make his proposition in form, or if not, his master may forbid anything further to be said about it.

With great respect and

Attachment yr. obt. sert.

J. Barlow.

Enclosed with Barlow's letter to Madison were the following memoranda:[27]

"Spain acknowledges that the boundaries of the country ceded to France under the general name of Louisiana by the treaty of St. Ildefonso was not clearly defined in that treaty. And as doubts have arisen and disputes may hereafter arise with respect to the precise boundaries intended, she now declares as a supplimentary article to said treaty that the country therein ceded to France is bounded as follows.—

First beginning at the mouth of the Rio Bravo sometimes called rio del Norte in the Gulph of Mexico and running eastward and southward with the coast of North America bordering said Gulph till it joins the Atlantic Ocean, thence Northward with the coast of North America bordering said ocean to the mouth of the river St. Marys which now forms the boundary of the State of Georgia, comprehending all Islands both of said ocean and said Gulph within three leagues of said coast of North America in the extent above mentioned. Next beginning at the mouth of the said rio Bravo and

[27] MS. Madison Papers, Department of State. Endorsed in pencil "Barlow J. 1811." The paper is not in Barlow's hand.

running up the same in the middle of its channel till it intersects the 30th degree of north latitude, thence on a due north line to the completion of the 42d degree of North Latitude, thence on a due west line to the Pacific Ocean. The navigation of the Rio Bravo from the Gulph to the 30th degree will be declared equally free for the inhabitants on each side of said River, and the other limits of Louisiana are declared to extend so as to comprehend in the cession thereof all the territories, by whatever local names they may have been called, that on the day of the signature of said Treaty of Saint Ildefonso belonged to the Spanish Monarchy in the continent of North America to the northward and eastward of the lines and limits above described.

All grants of land made by the Spanish government either before or after the date of said Treaty of St. Ildefonso that now remain unsurveyed and unlocated are declared to be null and void except one grant of six millions of acres made on the day of to A. B. his heirs and assigns in fee simple, and another grant of fourteen millions of acres to said A. B. and by him transferred to the Register of the Treasury of the U States in trust as hereinafter mentioned; which two grants shall be valid, and the intention thereof executed on the following conditions:

The grant of six millions of acres is to be laid out, a half a million thereof in east Florida, and the other five millions and a half between the Rio Bravo, and the river Sabine, both at the choice of A. B. to be surveyed at the expense of A. B. and the warrants for the location of the lots are to issue from the Treasury of the U States to be signed by the Register.

The grant of fourteen Millions is to be placed on any vacant land between the Mississippi and the Bravo and South of the 33d degree of latitude within the limits of Louisiana as above at the choice of the Secretary of the Treasury of the U States, to be surveyed at the expense of said A. B. in lots of five thousand acres each.

This latter grant is appropriated to the indemnification of the American citizens for the spoliations committed on their property contrary to the laws of nations in Spain and France, to be more particularly designated in the convention.

It is conjectured that these spoliations may amount to forty-two millions of Francs, that is twelve millions in Spain and thirty millions in France. The lands being surveyed in tracts of five thousand acres and the warrants signed by the Register ready to be delivered at the Treasury, are considered as worth three francs an acre, and are to be received at that rate in full payment for the spoliations by the claimants.

The United States are to make a loan to the said A. B. of one

million of dollars in a stock bearing interest at six per cent. per annum payable quarterly in Washington the principal redeemable in ten years. . . . For the security of the repayment of this money, as well interest as principal, the warrants for the six Millions of acres granted to A. B. shall remain in the Treasury of the U. States to be given out by the Register only as fast as the repayment of the loan is effected, and that only in the ratio or the rate of forty cents an acre. So that a warrant for five thousand acres can be given out only on the repayment of two thousand dollars, plus the interest that will have accrued thereon.—At which rate the warrants for only two millions and a half of acres, out of the six millions, will be delivered when the whole loan is reimbursed, at which time all the remainder of said warrants shall be given up.

And to insure the faithful performance of that part of the contract which regards the survey of the fourteen millions of acres,—one fifth of the loan, or two hundred thousand dollars shall remain in the Treasury, and the lands shall be surveyed by the surveyors of the United States and paid by the Treasury out of the two hundred thousand dollars thus retained for that purpose, and in case that expence of survey should amount to more or less than the two hundred thousand dollars the difference can be adjusted by a clause in the convention.

No greater sum than forty two millions of francs shall be found due for the spoliations and paid for in this way. And a commission shall be established in Paris in the manner to be pointed out by the President, to apportion that sum, or as much thereof, as may be justly due, among the sufferers. The commission shall decide according to equity and the law of nations; and the rule for estimating the value to be paid for shall be the prime cost of ship and cargo.

But in case the American Government should prefer not to confirm the grant of fourteen millions of acres, but to keep that portion of the land to itself, it shall be at liberty so to do, provided it shall pay its own citizens to the full amount of what shall be found due not exceeding forty two millions of francs; and in that case the two hundred thousand dollars shall be retained as the just price of the survey, which the Government is at liberty to make or not; and the two hundred thousand dollars shall nevertheless be considered as a part of the loan to A. B. and repaid accordingly as above stated.

Madison answered Barlow's letter, February 29, 1812, as follows:

VII. Madison to Barlow.[28]

"I am concerned that the prospect of indemnity for the Rambouillet and other spoliations is so discouraging as to have led to the idea of seeking it thro' King Joseph. Were there no other objection than the effect on the public mind here, this would be an insuperable one. The gratification of the sufferers by the result, would be lost in the general feeling agst the measure. But Joseph is not yet *settled* on the Spanish Throne; when so, de facto, he will be *sovereign* neither de facto, nor de jure, of any Spanish part of this continent; the whole of which, if it had not on other accounts a right to separate from the peninsula, would derive it from the usurpation of Joseph. So evident is it that he can never be Kg of a Spanish province, either by conquest or consent, that the Independence of all of them, is avowedly favored by the policy which rules him. Nor would a purchase under Joseph, place us an inch nearer our object. He could give us neither right, nor possession; and we should be obliged to acquire the latter by means which a grant from him would be more likely to embarrass than promote. I hope therefore that the F. G.[29] will be brought to feel the obligation and the necessity of repairing the wrongs, the flagrant wrongs in question, either by payments from the treasury or negociable substitutes. Without one or other or some fair equivalent there can be neither cordiality nor confidence here; nor any restraint from self redress in any justifiable mode of effecting it; nor any formal Treaty on any subject. With justice on this subject, formal stipulations on others might be combinable. . . . .

"Be assured of my affectionate esteem.

James Madison."

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[28] MS. Madison Papers, Department of State, extract.
[29] French Government.

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